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AN

APPEAL

TO

IMPARTIAL POSTERITY,

BY

MADAME ROLAND,

WIFE OF THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR;

OR,

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS

WRITTEN BY HER DURING HER CONFINEMENT IN THE PRISONS OF THE ABBEY, AND ST. PÉLAGIE, IN PARIS.

IN FOUR PARTS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH ORIGINAL,

Published for the Benefit of her only Daughter, deprived of the Fortune of her Parents by Sequestration.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED.

VOL I.

Containing PART I. and II.

May my last letter to my daughter fix her attention to that object which appears likely to become her essential duty; and may the remembrance of her mother attach her for ever to those virtues which afford us consolation in all circumstances.

Extracted from the piece entitled *My Last Thoughts*, in Part II. p. 120.

LONDON:

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1796.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

ADVERTISEMENT

FROM

THE EDITOR.

MADAM Roland, the wife of a man of ſcience, was perſuaded, that the celebrity of a woman ought to be confined to the eſteem ariſing from the practice of the domeſtic virtues. On this account ſhe never would conſent to publiſh writings, which might have procured her literary fame. It was even neceſſary to be intimately acquainted with her, to be able to form a juſt eſtimate of her native merit, her acquired talents, and her ſtrength of mind.

Madam Roland, when the wife of a miniſter, retained the ſame principles. She aſſiſted her huſband in his political labours, as ſhe had aſſiſted him before in his ſcientific purſuits, without permitting her name to appear. But her ſituation was changed. Her ſociety

before was confined to a few intimates, but now when ſhe was become the centre of a wider circle, the admiration of her friends, and the malevolence of her enemies, ſoon combined to give her a celebrity which ſhe was ſtill far from ſeeking.

Impriſoned, calumniated on all ſides, and having nothing but a ſcaffold before her eyes, Madam Roland was naturally induced to ſeek the eſteem of poſterity as a conſolation for the injuſtice of her contemporaries, and to aim at future glory, as a ſort of compenſation for an untimely death.

Then, and not till then, ſhe appeared to ſeparate her reputation from that of her huſband: then, and not till then, ſhe took up her pen to make herſelf known individually, and to furniſh materials for hiſtory in her own name. It will be ſeen, however, that ſhe was not actuated ſolely by the deſire of vindicating her reputation, and acquiring fame: every page will ſhow, that ſhe was particularly anxious to repel the calumnious charges heaped upon her huſband, and to revenge the memory of Roland, in caſe he himſelf ſhould not have it in his power to write or publiſh his laſt juſtification.

The public, already prepoſſeſſed in her favour, will judge,

judge, from a perusal of her writings, whether she really merited the praise of her friends, and whether she did not deserve the hatred of the villains, who succeeded at last in bringing her to the block.

Malevolence, assuming the mask of criticism, will endeavour, no doubt, to depreciate this monument erected by a woman to the glory of her sex; but the impartial reader will acknowledge her powers. I will only say, as an excuse for some superfluous relations, and some negligences of composition, that Madam Roland composed the part entitled Historical Memoirs (two thirds of which, and those the most interesting, are lost) in the space of one month, and all the rest in two and twenty days, in the midst of sorrows and alarms of every kind; and that scarcely a passage in the manuscript is erased.

Many persons, whose characters Madam Roland has drawn, will have reason to complain; but it belongs to posterity alone to decide, whether she have done them justice. It was *my* duty to confine myself strictly to the office of an editor; and to make no alteration in the text, even when it was evident, that she had been mistaken. There is a passage, for instance, where she seems to throw reflections on citizen Dulaure, which I believe him far from deserving, and

which every true republican will be eager to reject. It may not be amiſs here to relate the cauſe of her error.

Dulaure, a patriotic journaliſt, and a bold aſſertor of truth, was a frequent viſitor at Roland's, whoſe principles were analogous to his own, and whoſe conduct he deemed meritorious. But when Dulaure became a member of the convention, he thought it incumbent on him, as a matter of delicacy, to deſiſt from going to the houſe of a miniſter, of whoſe actions he was conſtituted a judge. Madam Roland attributed this reſerve to a change of political opinions, and to the inſtigation of the mountaineers: hence the ill-humour which ſeems to have predominated, when ſhe wrote the article concerning him; but in which, notwithſtanding, ſhe does his character the juſtice it deſerves. The courage with which citizen Dulaure printed all the complaints of madam Roland after the 31ſt of May; the honourable proſcription he has undergone; and his laſt publication entitled, A Supplement to the Crimes of the late Committees of Government, render all farther juſtification unneceſſary.

I could have wiſhed to have given to the public the whole of the work at once; but the delays of the preſs at the preſent moment, and the obſervations of

of ſome good citizens, have made me reſolve to publiſh one part at a time. There will be four, which will follow each other, as ſpeedily as circumſtances will permit. The ſecond will contain ſeveral detached pieces, reſpecting the events of the revolution, with the papers that relate to her death, or that immediately preceded it. The third and fourth will contain her private life, written preciſely in the ſame manner, and with the ſame intention, as the Confeſſions of Rouſſeau: to which will be added ſome familiar letters, that I found among my papers. I much lament, that I have not a more complete ſeries of her correſpondence to publiſh*: it is in the effuſions of friendſhip, that the mind diſplays itſelf fully, and that our opinions, inclinations, and acquirements, exhibit themſelves naked to the eye. On this account I conſider her letters, though at firſt view they appear to concern only our friendſhip, turn of mind, and our purſuits, as a neceſſary ſupplement to her private memoirs. Her republican ardour will appear from the very firſt of them; and certainly, on the 28th of Auguſt, 1792, ſhe could not foreſee, that France would become a republic;

* This correſpondence, very active for ſeveral years, was frequently diurnal during her abode at Amiens. Imperfect traces remain in my memory of ſome intereſting letters which I cannot now find: poſſibly they are with ſeveral others in the hands of Lanthenas, with whom that correſpondence was frequently carried on in common. He then conſidered it, and with reaſon, as of great importance; but now!——

ſtill

ſtill leſs that ſhe was deſtined to be a principal actor in that eventful ſcene.

Madam Roland was very fond of practiſing epiſtolary writing. She turned her pen to every ſubject with incredible facility, and with uncommon elegance of ſtyle. As a letter writer, ſhe was ſuperior, in my opinion, to a Sevigné or a Maintenon: becauſe ſhe was far better informed than thoſe two celebrated women, and becauſe her correſpondence conſiſted of things, and not of words.

It is my wiſh to collect ſuch of her letters, as may have been preſerved; and I here requeſt thoſe who have them in their poſſeſſion to ſend me the originals, as free from expence as may be; as I purpoſe publiſhing them at the end of ſeveral literary productions of madam Roland, which are known to me, and which I think worthy of ſeeing the light.

Roland during his retreat had alſo compoſed ſome hiſtorical memoirs; but they were conſigned to the flames the moment the intrepid woman, who concealed him, was taken into cuſtody. At the concluſion of his firſt miniſtry, he publiſhed a collection of pieces, calculated to make his conduct in office known

to

to poſterity; it is my intention to continue it, by getting together ſuch as relate to his ſecond miniſtry.

But that I may be enabled to accompliſh this object, as well as the preceding one, it is requiſite, that the national convention, either by a general law, ſolicited by all the friends of juſtice, or by a particular decree, deſired by every true friend of liberty, reſtore to Roland's daughter the property to which ſhe has a juſt claim. I muſt have liberty to ſearch among the papers ſtill under ſeal at Villefranche, and among thoſe taken from the houſe at Paris, after the ſale of the furniture by the agents of the national domains. It is incumbent on all true republicans, victims of tyranny, and perſecuted for their virtues or talents like Roland and his wife, to favour my wiſhes with their influence, and to promote my engaging ward's reſtoration to her rights.

Let me be permitted to conclude with an obſervation, which perhaps is not unneceſſary. This work is, at preſent at leaſt, the ſole fortune of Eudora, the beloved daughter, the only child of Roland. Woe to the villain who dares to pirate it! For certainly he would not be able to ſell a ſingle copy; and yet I ſhould not fail to call down upon him all the vengeance of the law.

The portrait of madam Roland, engraved by the worthy Paſquier, the countryman of Roland, and the friend of them both, ought to be placed fronting the title page of the firſt part; but it cannot be got ready for delivery, till the publication of the laſt.

BOSC.

Paris, germinal 20, in the year of the republic 3 [April 9, 1795.]

HISTORICAL

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS.

Abbey Priſon, June 1793.

To-day on a throne, to-morrow in a priſon.

SUCH is the fate of virtue in revolutionary times. After the firſt commotions of a nation, weary of the abuſes by which it has been aggrieved, have ſubſided, enlightened men, who have pointed out its rights, and aſſiſted in regaining them, are called into places of authority: but they cannot long maintain themſelves there; for the ambitious, eager to take advantage of circumſtances, ſoon contrive to miſlead the people by flattery, and ſet them againſt their real defenders, that they themſelves may acquire conſequence and power. Such has been the progreſs of things, particularly ſince the tenth of Auguſt. On ſome future day, perhaps, I ſhall recur to earlier times, to give an account of what my ſituation has enabled me to know: at preſent the ſole object I have in view is to commit the circumſtances of my arreſt to paper: it is the kind of amuſement moſt ſuitable to the ſolitary, to reflect on their perſonal concerns, and to expreſs what they feel.

The reſignation of Roland appeaſed not his enemies. He had quitted the miniſtry, in ſpite of his reſolution to await there the laying of the ſtorm, and to brave every

danger; becauſe the ſtate of the council, when he became fully acquainted with it, and his want of influence, which kept continually increaſing, and was particularly evident about the middle of January, no longer left him any thing to look forward to but faults and follies, of which he muſt participate the diſgrace. He was not even allowed to enter his reaſons or his opinions on the regiſter of the proceedings, when they were contrary to the determination of the majority.

The conſequence was, that from the day of that pitiful decree reſpecting the comedy intituled *l'Ami des Loix*, which he would not ſign, becauſe the ſecond article was at beſt ridiculous, he no longer affixed his ſignature to any deliberation of the council. That was the fifteenth of January. The proſpect held out to him by the convention was by no means encouraging. His very name was there become the ſignal of diſcord and diſturbance; and could no longer be pronounced without producing an uproar. If a member ventured to anſwer the odious accuſations gratuitouſly preferred againſt the miniſter, he was treated as an inſtrument of faction, and reduced to ſilence. In the mean time Pache was accumulating in the war department all the faults which his weakneſs and implicit ſubmiſſion to the jacobins enabled the perfidy, imbecility, and imprudence of his agents to commit; and yet the convention could not obtain the diſmiſſion of Pache; for the moment a ſingle ſentence was uttered againſt him, the bloodhounds of the mountain ſet up a howl againſt Roland. Thus the continuation of his courageous ſtruggle in the miniſtry could no longer prevent the faults of the council, while it became an additional motive of diſorder in the convention. He deemed it therefore

therefore prudent to give in his reſignation. To prove that it was neceſſary, it ſuffices to remark, that the ſound part of the legiſlative body, convinced as it was of the virtues and talents of the calumniated miniſter, durſt not make a ſingle obſervation on the ſubject. This was unqueſtionably weakneſs; for it ſtood in need of a firm and honeſt man in the home department, who would have been its moſt powerful ſupport; and loſing this it could not do otherwiſe than ſubmit to the yoke of the violent patriots, who were endeavouring to ſet up and maintain an authority capable of rivalling the national repreſentation.

Roland kept a uſurping commune in awe. Roland gave to all the adminiſtrative bodies a regular, uniform, and harmonious motion: he watched over the ſupply of proviſions of the great national family: he found means to re-eſtabliſh peace in all the departments; he diffuſed throughout them that order which proceeds from juſtice, and that confidence which is kept alive by a vigilant adminiſtration; and he ſet on foot between them a friendly correſpondence, and a ready communication of knowledge. Roland ought therefore to have been ſupported: but ſince weakneſs denied the means, he, to whom that weakneſs was well known, could not chooſe but retire.

The timid Garat, an agreeable companion, a man of letters of moderate merit, and a deteſtable miniſter; Garat, whoſe appointment to the judicial department proved the want of able men, a want which is inconceivable, and which none can tell but they who, occupying places of importance, have coadjutors to ſeek; Garat had not even ſenſe enough to remain in that office, where there is leaſt to be done, and where his bad

health, his natural indolence, and his incapacity for buſineſs, would have been leaſt conſpicuous; but removed to the home department, without poſſeſſing the ſmalleſt ſhare of the requiſite knowledge, not only where politics are the queſtion, but in regard to commerce, the arts, and a multitude of adminiſtrative operations, that come within its cognizance. With all that ignorance, and with all his inactivity, he ventured to take the place of the moſt active man in the republic, and the beſt informed in all the above particulars. The relaxation of the machine ſoon occaſioned the diſlocation of its parts, and proved the weakneſs of the regulator: the departments were thrown into commotion, ſcarcity began to be felt, the flames of civil war were lighted up in la Vendée; the authorities of Paris exceeded their powers; the jacobins aſſumed the reins of government; and the puppet Pache, diſmiſſed from the department, which he had thrown into confuſion, was raiſed by a cabal to the mayoralty, where his ſuppleneſs was wanted, while his place at the council-board was filled by the idiot Bouchotte, as ſupple as he, and even ſurpaſſing him in ſtupidity.

Roland gave a terrible blow to his adverſaries, by publiſhing, on his retirement, ſuch accounts, as no miniſter before him had furniſhed. To have them examined and ſanctioned by a report, was a piece of juſtice, which he was doomed to ſolicit in vain; for that would have been acknowledging the falſehood of the obloquy thrown on him, the infamy of his detractors, and the weakneſs of the convention, which had not dared to undertake his defence.

It was neceſſary to perſevere in ſlandering him, without coming to the proof; in order to perplex and

and miſlead the public opinion, ſo as to be able to ruin him with impunity; and thus to get rid of a troubleſome witneſs of ſo many atrocities, which muſt either be concealed, or juſtified, to preſerve to the perpetrators the wealth and authority they helped them to acquire. In vain did Roland intreat, publiſh, and write ſeven times in four months to the convention, to demand an examination and a report on his conduct in the miniſtry. The jacobins continued to employ their ſatellites, to proclaim him a traitor: Marat proved to *his people* that the ex-miniſter's head was neceſſary to the tranquillity of the republic: conſpiracies fruſtrated, ſet on foot anew, baffled again, and yet conſtantly carried on, ended at length in the inſurrection of the 31ſt of May, when the good people of Paris, with a fixed determination to maſſacre no one, did every thing beſides that their audacious directors, their inſolent commune, and the revolutionary committee of meſſieurs the jacobins, grown mad or furious, or elſe become the hirelings of the enemy, were pleaſed to require. Roland had written the eighth time to the convention, which had not even deigned to read his letter; and I was preparing to get the municipality to ſign paſſports, by means of which I might go with my daughter into the country, whither I was called by domeſtic buſineſs, by the ſtate of my health, and by many good reaſons beſide. Among other things I conſidered, how much more eaſy it would be for Roland to eſcape alone from the purſuit of his enemies, ſhould they proceed to the laſt extremities, than for the whole of his little family together: prudence pointed out the propriety of diminiſhing the number of

points in which he was attackable *. My paſſports had been delayed at the ſection, through the chicanery of ſome zealous maratiſts, in whoſe eyes I was an object of ſuſpicion; and they were but juſt delivered to me, when a fit of the nervous colic, attended with violent convulſions, the only indiſpoſition to which I am ſubject, and to which the vehement affections of a ſtrong mind ruling a robuſt body expoſe me, obliged me to keep my bed. I paſſed ſix days in this ſtate, and purpoſed going out on Friday, to ſhew myſelf at the municipality; but the ſound of the alarm-bell informed me, that it was not a proper time. Every thing had long foretold an approaching criſis. It is true that the aſcendency of the jacobins made it very unlikely that its iſſue ſhould be favourable to the real friends of liberty: but energetic minds deteſt ſuſpenſe; and the debaſement of the convention, with its daily acts of weakneſs and ſlavery, appeared to me ſo diſtreſſing, that I hardly conſidered the worſt exceſſes as more lamentable, becauſe they would neceſſarily contribute to open the eyes, and determine the conduct of the departments. The alarm gun, and the commotions of the day, awakened in me that intereſt, which great events inſpire, without producing any painful emotion. Two or three perſons came to confer with us; and one, in particular, preſſed Roland to make his appearance at his ſection, by which

* That was not my ſtrongeſt inducement: for, tired of the courſe of affairs, I feared nothing for myſelf; innocent and courageous, injuſtice might reach, but could not degrade me; and to ſuffer it, was a trial, in the thought of braving which I felt pleaſure; but another reaſon, altogether perſonal, and which ſome day perhaps my pen will diſcloſe, determined me to depart.

he was eſteemed, and of which the good diſpoſition was the beſt warrant of his ſafety. It was agreed, however, that he ſhould not ſleep at home the following night: though, by the way, nothing was talked of but the good intentions of the citizens, who drew up under arms, in order to oppoſe every act of violence. It was not added, that they would permit preparations for every act of violence to be made.

The blood boils in my veins when I hear praiſes beſtowed on the good-nature of the Pariſians, who are determined not to have another day like the 2d of September. Why, good heavens! nobody wants you to execute another; you need only ſuffer it as you did before: but you are neceſſary to collect the victims, and you kindly lend your aid to apprehend them; you are neceſſary to give the appearance of a legitimate inſurrection to the violence of the galleries* by whom you are governed, and you approve their undertakings: you obey their orders, you ſwear fealty to the monſtrous authorities they create; you ſurround the legiſlative body with your bayonets, and you permit rebels to dictate to the national repreſentation the decrees they wiſh to paſs. Boaſt then no more of being its defenders; it is you who bind it in chains; you who deliver into the hands of oppreſſion the members, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their virtues and their talents; you who with equal cowardice would ſee them brought to the block, by proceedings ſimilar to thoſe that deſtroyed Sidney; and you it is who will have to anſwer to indignant France for ſo many crimes; who

* Of the convention, which at this period were filled with ruffians from the jacobin club. *Tranſ.*

ſerve the cauſe of her enemies, and who prepare the way for federaliſm. Think you, that the high-ſpirited Marſeilles, and the enlightened department of la Gironde, will paſs over the outrages committed on their repreſentatives, or fraterniſe with a city polluted by ſuch crimes? You are the deſtroyers of your country, and ſoon will you lament, in vain, your infamous puſillanimity in the midſt of its ruins.

It was half after five in the evening, when ſix armed men came to our houſe. One of them read to Roland an order of the *revolutionary committee*, by virtue of which they were come to apprehend him. 'I know no law,' ſaid Roland, 'which conſtitutes the authority you mention; nor ſhall I obey the orders which it iſſues. If you employ violence, I can only oppoſe to you ſuch reſiſtance as a man of my years is capable of; but I ſhall proteſt againſt it to the laſt moment of my life.'—'I have no order to employ violence,' replied the ſpokeſman, 'I ſhall therefore go and communicate your anſwer to the council-general of the commune: in the mean time I will leave my colleagues here.'

It occurred to me immediately, that it would not be amiſs to denounce theſe proceedings to the convention, in the moſt public manner, in order to prevent the arreſt of Roland, or to obtain his prompt releaſe, if it ſhould have taken place. To communicate this idea to my huſband, write a letter to the preſident, and ſet out, was the buſineſs of a few minutes. My ſervant being abſent, I left a friend, who was in the houſe, to keep Roland company; and ſtepped alone into a hackney-coach, which I ordered to proceed as faſt as poſſible to the Carouzel. The court-yard of the Tuileries was filled with

with armed men. I croſſed it, and flew through the midſt of them like a bird. I was dreſſed in a morning gown, and had put on a black ſhaul, and a veil. On my arrival at the doors of the outer halls, which were all ſhut, I found ſentinels, who allowed no one to enter, or ſent me by turns from door to door. In vain did I inſiſt on admiſſion; till at length it came into my mind to employ ſuch language as a bigotted Robeſpierian would have held. 'Why, citizens,' ſaid I, 'in this day of ſalvation for our country, and in the midſt of the traitors, from whom we have ſo much to fear, you do not know then of what importance ſome notes may be which I wiſh to tranſmit to the preſident. Send at leaſt for an uſher, that I may entruſt them to his care.'

The doors inſtantly flew open, and I walked into the petitioner's hall. I then enquired for one of the uſhers, and was deſired by a ſentry, planted within the hall, to wait till one came out. A quarter of an hour had already paſſed, when I perceived Roſe *, the very man who had brought me the decree of the convention, requeſting me to repair to the bar, on account of the ridiculous accuſation of Viard, whom I overwhelmed with confuſion: I now ſolicited permiſſion to appear there, and repreſented Roland's danger, as connected with the public weal. But circumſtances were no longer the ſame, though my rights were equally good: before, requeſted reſpectfully, now a ſuppliant, how was I to obtain the ſame ſucceſs? Roſe took charge of my letter; conceived at once the ſubject, and the greatneſs of my impatience;

* A Scotchman, who was uſher to the convention, as well as to each of the preceding aſſemblies. *Tranſ.*

and

and left me, in order to lay it on the table, and to requeſt that it might be read without delay. An hour elapſed; I walked haſtily backwards and forwards; and every time the door was opened, my eyes were caſt towards the hall, but it was immediately ſhut by the guard, and from time to time a dreadful noiſe aſſailed my ears. Roſe made his appearance again.—'Well!'—'Nothing has yet been done. A tumult I cannot deſcribe prevails in the aſſembly. Some petitioners, at this moment at the bar, demand the confinement of the *twenty-two:* I have juſt aſſiſted Rabaud in getting out without being ſeen: they will not conſent to his making the report of the commiſſion of *twelve:* he has been threatened: ſeveral others are making off: nor can any one ſay what will be the event.'—'Who is preſident?'—'Héraut-Séchelles.'—'Ah! my letter will not be read. Send me ſome member or other with whom I may ſpeak a few words.'—'Whom?'—'Indeed I am little acquainted, or have little eſteem for any, but thoſe that are proſcribed. Tell Vergniaux I wiſh to ſee him.'

Roſe went in queſt of him; at the end of a very conſiderable time he came; and we talked together for ſeven or eight minutes. He then returned to the hall, came back, and ſaid: 'In the preſent ſtate of the aſſembly, I dare not flatter you: you have no great room for hope. If you get admiſſion to the bar, you may obtain a little more favour as a woman; but the convention is no longer able to do any good.'—'It is able to do any thing it pleaſes,' exclaimed I: 'for the majority of Paris only deſire to know how they ought to act. If I be admitted, I will venture to ſay, what you could not utter without expoſing yourſelf to an impeachment. As to me I fear nothing

nothing in the world; and if I cannot ſave Roland, I will ſpeak ſome home truths, which will not be altogether uſeleſs to the republic. Inform your worthy colleagues: a courageous ſally may have a great effect, or at leaſt will ſerve to ſet a great example.'—I was indeed, in that temper of mind, which imparts eloquence: warm with indignation, and ſuperior to all fear, my boſom glowing for my country, the ruin of which I foreſaw, every thing dear to me in the world at ſtake, feeling ſtrongly, expreſſing my ſentiments with fluency, and too proud not to utter them with dignity, I had the moſt important intereſts to diſcuſs, poſſeſſed ſome means of defending them, and was in a ſingular ſituation for doing it with advantage.—'But, at any rate,' ſaid Vergniaux, 'your letter cannot be read this hour or two: a motion of ſix articles is going to be diſcuſſed; and petitioners, deputed by the ſections, are waiting at the bar: only think what a tedious time you will have to ſtay!'—'I will go home, then, to know what has been paſſing there; and will immediately return: you may tell our friends ſo.'—'Moſt of them are abſent: they behave courageouſly, when they are here; but they are deficient in aſſiduity.'—'That, alas! is but too true.'

I quitted Vergniaux, flew to Louvet's, wrote a note to inform him of what was going on, and what I foreſaw would follow; threw myſelf into a hackney-coach, and ordered it to drive home. The wretched horſes did not get on to my mind; and we were ſoon met by battalions of national guards, whoſe march ſtopped the way. I jumped out of the coach, paid the coachman, ruſhed through the ranks, and made off. This was near the Louvre, from whence I ran to our houſe, which was

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in the *Rue de la Harpe*, oppoſite the ſchool of ſurgery. The porter whiſpered me, that Roland was gone to the landlord's, at the bottom of the court; and thither I repaired, perſpiring at every pore. A glaſs of wine was brought me, and I was told, that the bearer of the warrant having returned, without being able to procure a hearing at the council, Roland had perſiſted in proteſting againſt his orders; and that theſe good people, after demanding his proteſt in writing, had withdrawn; in conſequence of which Roland had come to beg a paſſage through their apartments, and had got out of the houſe by the back door. I did the ſame in order to find him, to inform him of the attempt I had made, and of the ſteps I meant to purſue. At the firſt houſe to which I repaired, I found him not: in the ſecond I did. From the ſolitude of the ſtreets, which, by the way, were illuminated, I preſumed that it was late: I prepared nevertheleſs to return to the convention, where I ſhould have taken care to be ignorant of Roland's eſcape, and ſhould have ſpoken as I had before intended. I was going to ſet out on foot, without recollecting, that it was paſt ten o'clock, and that I was out that day for the firſt time ſince my illneſs, which demanded reſt and the bath. A hackney-coach was brought me. On approaching the Carrouzel, I ſaw nothing more of the armed force, except two pieces of cannon, and a few men, who were ſtill at the gate of the national palace: I went up to it, and found that the ſitting was at an end.

What! on the day of an inſurrection, when the ſound of the alarm-bell ſcarcely ceaſes to ſtrike the ear, when only two hours before forty thouſand men in arms ſurrounded the convention, and petitioners threatened its members

members from the bar, the aſſembly is not permanent!—Surely then it is completely ſubjugated! it has done every thing, that it was ordered! The *revolutionary power* is ſo predominant, that the convention dares not oppoſe it, and it ſtands itſelf in no need of the convention!

'Citizens,' ſaid I to ſome ſans-culottes collected round a cannon, 'has every thing gone well?'—'O wonderfully! they embraced each other, and ſang the hymn of the *Marſeillois*, there, under the tree of liberty.'—'What, then, is the right ſide appeaſed?'—'Faith, it was obliged to liſten to reaſon.'—'And what of the committee of twelve?'—'It is kicked into the ditch.'—'And the *twenty-two?*'—'The municipality will have them taken up.'—'Ay, but can the municipality?'—'Why, body o' me, is not the municipality the ſovereign? It is high time it ſhould, to ſet thoſe b——— of traitors to rights, and ſupport the common-wealth.'—'But will the departments be well pleaſed to ſee their repreſentatives * * * *'—'What are you talking about?—the Pariſians do nothing but in concert with the departments: they ſaid ſo to the convention.'—'That however is not quite ſo certain, for, to know their will, the primary aſſemblies were wanting.'—'Was there any want of primary aſſemblies on the 10th of Auguſt? Did not the departments approve what Paris did then? They will do the ſame now: it is Paris that is ſaving them.'—'Or rather, it is Paris that is ruining itſelf.'

I had croſſed the court, and was returning to my hackney-coach, while concluding this dialogue with an old ſans-culotte, who was well paid no doubt for tutoring the dupes. A pretty dog followed cloſe at my heels:—'Is the poor brute your's?' ſaid the coachman with a tone of ſenſibility very uncommon amongſt his fellows,

lows, which ſtruck me exceedingly.—'No: I am not acquainted with him:' anſwered I gravely, as if ſpeaking of a man, but in reality thinking of ſomething very different: 'you will ſet me down at the galleries of the Louvre.' There I meaned to call on a friend, with whom I intended to concert the means of conveying Roland out of Paris. We had not gone a dozen yards before the coach ſtopped. 'What is the matter?' ſaid I to the coachman.—'Ah, he has left me; like a fool; for I wanted to keep him for my little boy. They would have been rare company for one another. Here! Here! my little fellow.'—I recollected the dog, and was highly pleaſed at having for my coachman, at ſuch an hour, a good-natured man, poſſeſſed of a feeling heart, and a father. 'Endeavour to catch him:' ſaid I: 'you ſhall put him into the coach, and I will take care of him.' —The honeſt fellow, quite delighted, caught the dog, opened the door, and gave him to me for a companion. The poor animal appeared ſenſible, that he had found protection and an aſylum, and careſſed me with great affection. I recollected the tale of Sandi, in which he deſcribes an old man, who being weary of his fellow-creatures, and diſguſted with their paſſions, retired to a wood; and there conſtructed himſelf a dwelling, of which he enlivened the ſolitude by the ſociety of ſeveral animals, who repaid his cares with teſtimonies of affection, and with a ſpecies of gratitude, with which he contented himſelf, for want of meeting with its like among mankind.

Paſquier was juſt gone to bed. He roſe; I ſubmitted to him my plan; and we agreed, that he ſhould call on me the next day a little after ſeven, when I would let him know where his friend was to be found. I ſtepped into

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my coach again, and was proceeding home, when I was ſtopped by the ſentry, at the poſt of the *Samaritaine* *. 'Have a little patience:' ſaid the honeſt coachman in a whiſper, and turning round on his ſeat: 'it is the cuſtom at this time of night.'—The ſerjeant came, and opened the door. 'Who have we got here?'—'A woman.'—'Whence do you come?'—'From the convention.'—'It is very true:' ſaid the coachman, putting in his word, as if he were afraid I ſhould not be believed.—'Whither are you going?'—'Home.'—'Have you no bundles?'—'Nothing at all, as you may ſee.'—'But the aſſembly is broke up.'—'Yes: to my ſorrow, for I had a petition to preſent.'—'A woman! at this hour! it is extremely ſtrange: it is very imprudent.'—'It certainly is not a very common occurrence, nor is it with me a matter of choice. I muſt have had ſtrong reaſons for it.'—'But, madam, alone?'—'How, ſir, alone! Do you not ſee that I have *innocence* and *truth* for my companions? what would you have more?'—'Well! I muſt be contented with your reaſons.'—You are quite in the right:' replied I, in a gentler tone: 'for they are good ones.'

The horſes were ſo tired, that the coachman was obliged to pull them by the bridle, to get them up the ſteep part of the Rue de la Harpe. At length, however, I reached home, paid my coach, and had aſcended eight or ten ſteps, when a man, who had ſlipped in at the gate unperceived by the porter, and who was cloſe at my heels, begged me to conduct him to citizen Roland. —'To his apartment I will conduct you with pleaſure, if you have any thing advantageous to impart: but to *him* is

* A fountain at one end of the Pont Neuf. *Tranſ.*

impoſſible.'

impoſſible.'—'Why, I came to let him know that they are abſolutely determined to put him in confinement this very evening.'—'They muſt be cunning indeed if they accompliſh their purpoſe.'—'I am very happy to hear it; for it is an honeſt citizen you are ſpeaking to.'—'Well and good,' ſaid I, and went up ſtairs, without well knowing what to think of the matter.

I may be aſked, why, under ſuch circumſtances, I returned to the houſe? nor is the queſtion irrelevant; for ſlander had attacked me too, and malevolence might direct its ſhafts againſt my boſom; but to give a proper anſwer to it, the ſtate of my mind ought to be completely developed; and that would require details, which I reſerve for a future period: their reſults will be all I ſhall notice at preſent. I have naturally an averſion to every thing inconſiſtent with the grand, bold, and ingenuous proceedings of innocence: an effort to eſcape from the hand of injuſtice would be to me more painful, than any thing it can inflict. In the laſt two months of Roland's adminiſtration, our friends often urged us to quit the hotel, and three ſeveral times they found means to make us ſleep from home; but it was always contrary to my inclination. It was an aſſaſſination that was then apprehended; but I was of opinion, that no one would readily undertake to violate the aſylum of a man inveſted with a public office; and if there were villains bold enough to attempt ſuch a crime, it appeared to me, that its perpetration would not be altogether uſeleſs. At all events, it was incumbent on the miniſter to be at his poſt, for there his death would cry aloud for vengeance, and be a leſſon to the republic; while it was poſſible to reach his life when abroad, with equal advantage to the deviſers of the deed, but with leſs benefit to the public weal, and leſs glory to

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the victim. Such reaſoning, I am well aware, will be deemed abſurd by thoſe who prefer life to all things: but he, who ſets any value on his exiſtence in a period of revolution, will ſet none on virtue, on honour, or on his country. Accordingly I refuſed to leave the hôtel in the month of January; Roland's bed was in my chamber, that we might both undergo the ſame fate: and under my pillow I kept a piſtol, not to kill thoſe who might come to murder us, but to ſecure myſelf from their outrages, if they offered to lay hands upon my perſon.

When out of office the obligation was no longer the ſame, and I thought it right in Roland to ſhun the fury of the populace, and the clutches of his enemies. As to me, they had not an equal intereſt in doing me a miſchief: killing me would be incurring an odium they did not deſire; and my commitment to priſon would be of little ſervice to them, and to me no great misfortune. If they ſhould feel any ſenſe of ſhame, wiſh to proceed according to form, and begin the buſineſs by making me undergo an examination, I ſhould find no difficulty in confounding them; and my anſwers might even ſerve to diſpel more rapidly the deluſion of thoſe who were only miſled in regard to Roland. If they ſhould dare to go the length of another ſecond of September, it could only be becauſe all the honeſt members of the convention would be alſo in their power, and becauſe all would be loſt at Paris. In that caſe I ſhould prefer death, to living a witneſs of my country's ruin; and glory in being comprehended among the glorious victims ſacrificed to guilty fury. That fury, glutted by my deſtruction, would be leſs violent againſt Roland, who, if once ſaved from this criſis, might ſtill render great ſervices to the public in other parts of

France. Thus, of two things one was ſure to happen: either I might only riſque impriſonment and a trial, which would redound to my huſband's and my country's good; or elſe, if I were doomed to periſh, it would be under circumſtances in which life itſelf would be a burthen.

I have an amiable daughter. I ſuckled her myſelf *. I have brought her up with the enthuſiaſtic anxiety of maternal love. I have ſet before her ſuch examples, as at her age will not be forgotten; and doubt not but ſhe will make a good and accompliſhed woman. Her education may be completed without my aſſiſtance, and her father will derive conſolation from her exiſtence; but ſhe will never feel my ſtrong affections; ſhe will never know my pains, nor my pleaſures: and yet were I to be born again, and to have my choice of diſpoſitions, I would not change my temper of mind, but would aſk of the gods to make me ſuch as I am. Since Roland's reſignation, I had lived ſo ſecluded from the world, that I had ſcarcely the ſmalleſt intercourſe with any human creature: the family at one houſe, in which I might have concealed myſelf, was gone into the country; in another there was a ſick perſon, which rendered the admiſſion of a new gueſt difficult; and that in which Roland lay hidden, could not accommodate me without the greateſt inconvenience; it would beſides have been ſuſpicious, if not impolitic, for me to have been in the ſame place with him; and, in the laſt place, I ſhould even have been ſorry to abandon my ſervants. I therefore returned home, quieted their uneaſineſs, already excited to a conſiderable degree, kiſſed my

* In France it was unuſual for any but women of the very loweſt claſſes to ſuckle their children. *Tranſ.*

child,

child, and took my pen, to write a note, which I intended to diſpatch early in the morning to my huſband.

Scarcely had I ſat down, when I heard a knock at the door. It was about midnight. A numerous deputation of the commune appeared, and inquired for Roland.—'He is not at home.'—'But,' ſaid the perſon who wore an officer's gorget, 'where can he be? when will he return? You are acquainted with his habits, and can judge of the hour of his coming home.'—'I know not,' replied I, 'whether your orders authoriſe you to aſk ſuch queſtions; but this I know, that nothing can oblige me to anſwer them. As Roland left the houſe while I was at the convention, he had it not in his power to make me his confidante. This is all I have to ſay.'

The whole troop withdrew much diſſatisfied; but I perceived that a ſentry was left at my door, and a guard at that of the houſe. I therefore inferred, that I had nothing to do but to ſummon ſtrength to ſupport the worſt that might happen. Being overcome with fatigue, I ordered ſupper, finiſhed my letter, entruſted it to my faithful maid, and retired to bed. I ſlept ſoundly for about an hour, when a ſervant came into my chamber, to inform me, that ſome gentlemen of the ſection requeſted me to ſtep into the adjoining apartment. 'I underſtand what it means,' replied I: 'go, child; I will not make them wait.' I ſprung out of bed, and was dreſſing myſelf when my maid came in, and expreſſed her ſurpriſe at my being at the pains to put on any thing more than my bed-gown.—'When people are going abroad,' ſaid I, 'they ſhould at leaſt be decent.'—The poor woman looked in my face, and the tears guſhed from her eyes. I went into the next room.

'We come, *Citoyenne*, to take you into cuſtody, and to put ſeals upon your property.'—'Where is your authority?'—'Here,' ſaid a man, taking out of his pocket a warrant from the revolutionary committee *, ordering me to be committed to the Abbey, without ſpecifying any motive for my arreſt. 'I have a right to tell you, like Roland, that I know nothing of your committee, that I will not obey its orders, and that you ſhall not take me hence, unleſs by violence.'—'Here is another order,' ſaid a little hard-featured man, in great haſte, and in a commanding tone of voice, reading to me one from the commune, which directed alſo, without alleging any charge, the commitment of both Roland and his wife. In the mean time I deliberated, whether I ſhould carry my reſiſtance to the utmoſt, or quietly reſign myſelf into their hands. I had a right to avail myſelf of the law, which prohibits nocturnal arreſts; and if the law, which authoriſes the municipality to ſeize ſuſpected perſons were urged, I might retort the illegality of the municipality itſelf, caſhiered and created anew by an arbitrary power. But then this power is in a manner ſanctioned by the citizens of Paris; the law is no more than an empty name, employed for the purpoſe of trampling more ſecurely on the moſt ackowledged rights; and violence prevails, to which, if I had compelled theſe brutes to reſort, they might have preſerved no bounds in its application. Reſiſtance therefore was vain, and could ſerve only to expoſe me to indignities and inſult.

'How do you mean to proceed, gentlemen?'—'We

* The author means the committee of inſurrection of the commune of the 31ſt of May.

have

have ſent for a juſtice of peace of the ſection, and you ſee here a detachment of his armed force.'—The juſtice of peace came, went into the parlour, and ſealed up every thing, even to the windows and the drawers containing linen. One ſtrange fellow would have had the *forte piano* ſealed up too, but he was told it was a muſical inſtrument; he then drew out a foot rule, and took its dimenſions, as if he intended it for ſome particular place. I aſked leave to take out my daughter's clothes, and made up a ſmall packet of night-clothes for myſelf. In the mean time fifty or a hundred perſons were paſſing backwards and forwards continually, completely filled two rooms, crowded every place, and might eaſily have concealed malevolent perſons diſpoſed either to depoſit or to carry any thing away. The atmoſphere became infected with noiſome exhalations, and I was obliged to retire to the window of the anti-chamber for a little freſh air. The officer not daring to lay his commands upon this crowd, requeſted them now and then in gentle terms to withdraw, which only ſerved to produce the exchange of one ſet of perſons for another. Sitting down at my bureau, I wrote to a friend concerning my ſituation, and to recommend my daughter to his care. I was folding up the letter, when Mr. Nicaud, the bearer of the order from the commune, told me it was neceſſary I ſhould read what I had written to them, and let them know to whom it was addreſſed.—'I have no objection to read it, if that will ſatisfy you.'—'No, it would be better to let us know to whom you are writing.'—'I ſhall do no ſuch thing: the title of my friend is not of a nature, at preſent, to induce me, to name the perſon on whom I beſtow it:' and on my ſaying this I tore the letter to pieces. While I turned myſelf

from them, they gathered up the fragments, in order to ſeal them up: a ſtupid precaution, which tempted me to laugh; for the letter was without an addreſs.

At length, at ſeven in the morning, I left my daughter and my ſervants, after having exhorted them to be patient and calm, and feeling myſelf more honoured by their tears, than dejected by the oppreſſion of which I was the victim.—'You have people there, who love you:' ſaid one of the commiſſioners.—'I never had any about me who did not:' replied I, while walking down ſtairs. From the bottom of the ſtair-caſe to the coach, which was drawn up on the oppoſite ſide of the ſtreet, I found two ranks of armed citizens; and proceeded gravely with meaſured ſteps, and with my eyes fixed upon theſe puſillanimous or deluded men. The armed force followed the coach in two files; while the wretched populace, deceived, and maſſacred in the perſons of its true friends, ſtopped as I paſſed by, attracted by the ſight, and ſeveral of the women exclaimed, '*Away with her to the guillotine.*'—'Shall we draw up the blinds?' ſaid one of the commiſſioners very civilly.—'No, gentlemen, innocence, however oppreſſed, never puts on the guiſe of criminality: I fear not the eye of any one, nor will I conceal myſelf from any perſon's view.'—'You have more ſtrength of mind than many men: you wait patiently for juſtice.'—'Juſtice! Were juſtice done I ſhould not be now in your hands: but ſhould an iniquitous procedure ſend me to the ſcaffold, I ſhall walk to it with the ſame firmneſs and tranquillity with which I now go to priſon. My heart bleeds for my country; and I regret my miſtake in ſuppoſing it qualified for liberty and happineſs: but life I appreciate at its due value; I never

feared

ſeared aught but guilt; and injuſtice and death I deſpiſe.'—The poor commiſſioners underſtood but little of this language, and probably thought it very ariſtocratic.

We arrived at the Abbey, the theatre of thoſe bloody ſcenes, the revival of which the jacobins have for ſome time preached up with ſo much fervour. Five or ſix field beds, with as many men ſtretched on them, in a dark and dreary room, were the firſt objects that ſtruck my ſight. After paſſing the wicket, every thing ſeemed in motion; and my guides made me aſcend a dirty and narrow ſtair-caſe. At length we came to the keeper's apartment, and found him in a kind of little parlour, kept tolerably clean, where he offered me a ſeat. 'Where is my room?' ſaid I to his wife, a corpulent woman, of an agreeable countenance.—'Madam, I did not expect you: I have no room as yet: but in the mean time you will remain here.'—The commiſſioners went into the adjoining room, directed an entry of their warrant to be made, and gave their verbal orders. Theſe, I afterwards learnt, were very ſevere, and often renewed afterwards, but they durſt not give them in writing; and the keeper knew his trade too well literally to obſerve what he was under no obligation to perform. He is an active, obliging, and civil man, and in fulfilling his official duties does every thing that humanity or juſtice can demand.—'What would you chooſe for breakfaſt?'—'A little capillaire and water.'

The commiſſioners withdrew, obſerving to me, that if Roland were not guilty, there could have been no occaſion for him to abſcond.—'It is ſo ſtrange to ſuſpect a man, who has rendered ſuch important ſervices to the

cauſe of liberty; there is ſomething ſo abominable in calumniating, and perſecuting with ſuch bitter rage, a miniſter whoſe conduct is ſo open, and whoſe accounts are ſo clear, that he is fully juſtified in avoiding the laſt outrages of envy. Juſt as Ariſtides, and ſevere as Cato, it is to his virtues he is indebted for his enemies. Their fury knows no bounds: but let them ſatiate it on me: I defy its power, and devote myſelf to death. It is incumbent on him to ſave himſelf for the ſake of his country, to which he may yet be capable of rendering important ſervices.' — An awkard bow, in which their confuſion was evident, was the only anſwer the gentlemen thought fit to make me.

As ſoon as they were gone, I ſat down to breakfaſt, and in the mean time a bed-chamber was haſtily put in order, into which I was introduced.—'You may remain here, madam, the whole day; and if I cannot get an apartment ready for you this evening, as we are rather crowded, a bed ſhall be made up in the parlour.'—After ſaying this, the keeper's wife made ſome civil obſervations on the regret ſhe felt whenever a perſon of her own ſex arrived, 'for,' added ſhe, 'they have not all your ſerene countenance, madam.'—I thanked her with a ſmile; and ſhe locked me in.

Well, then, I am in priſon, ſaid I to myſelf, ſitting down, and falling into the deepeſt reverie. The moments that followed I would not exchange for thoſe which others may eſteem the happieſt of my life, nor will they ever be eraſed from my memory. In a critical ſituation, and with a ſtormy and precarious period in view, they made me ſenſible of the value of honeſty and fortitude, in union with a good conſci-

ence,

ence, and firm temper of mind. Hitherto impelled by circumſtances, my actions, in this criſis, had been the reſult of ſtrong feelings, hurrying me away. How grateful to find their effects juſtified by the ſober operation of reaſon! I recalled the paſt to my mind: I calculated future events: and if, while liſtening to a tender heart, I ſometimes felt too powerful an affection, I did not diſcover one that could ſuffuſe my cheek with a bluſh; not one, but what ſerved to keep alive my courage, nor one that my reaſon was not able to ſubdue. I devoted myſelf, if I may ſo ſay, voluntarily to my deſtiny, whatever it might be: I defied its rigour, and fixed myſelf firmly in that ſtate of mind, in which we only ſeek employment for the preſent, without giving ourſelves any concern about the future. But this tranquillity with regard to what concerned me alone, I did not even endeavour to extend to the fate of my country, and of my friends: I waited for the evening paper, and liſtened to the noiſe in the ſtreet with inexpreſſible anxiety. I did not however neglect to make inquiry concerning my new ſituation, and what portion of liberty was left me.—'May I write? May I ſee any body? What will be my expences here?' were my firſt queſtions. Lavacquerie, the keeper, acquainted me with the directions given him, and the liberty he could venture to take with orders of that kind. I wrote to my faithful maid, to come and ſee me; but it was agreed that ſhe ſhould keep this indulgence a ſecret.

The firſt viſit I received at the Abbey was from Grandpré, on the day of my arrival.—'You ſhould write to the aſſembly,' ſaid he: 'have you not yet been thinking of it?'—'No: and now you put me in mind, I do

I do not ſee how I ſhall be able to get my letter read?' —'I will do all I can to aſſiſt you.'—'Very well: then I will write.'—'Do ſo. I will return in two hours.'— He left me, and I wrote as follows.

'Madame ROLAND to the National Convention.

Abbey Priſon, June 1, 1793.

"LEGISLATORS! I have juſt been torn from my home, from the arms of my daughter, a girl of twelve years of age, and am detained in the Abbey, by virtue of orders which aſſign no cauſe for my confinement. Thoſe orders were iſſued by a revolutionary committee; and commiſſioners of the commune, who accompanied thoſe of the committee, ſhewed me others from the council general, which were equally defective.*" Thus am I placed in the light of a culprit before the eyes of the public. I was dragged to priſon with great parade, in the midſt of an oſtentatious guard, and of a miſled populace, ſome of whom were for ſending me to the ſcaffold; without my conductors being able to aſſign to me or to any other perſon the reaſon why I was preſumed a criminal, and treated accordingly. This is not all. The bearer of the orders of the commune made no uſe of them except in regard to myſelf, and to make me ſign minutes of what paſſed: as ſoon as I quitted my apartment, I was delivered over to the commiſſioners of the revolutionary committee, who conducted me to the Abbey; and on their warrant alone I was conſtituted a priſoner. An atteſted copy of that warrant, ſigned by

* The words between double commas had been changed.

a ſingle

a ſingle individual poſſeſſing no office, is here ſubjoined. Every thing in my houſe has been ſealed up; and while that was doing, which was from three o'clock in the morning till ſeven, a crowd of citizens filled my apartment. If, among the number, there were any malicious perſon, capable of privately ſlipping falſe evidence into a library open in every part, he could not want an opportunity.

'As early as yeſterday, the ſame committee ſought to put the late miniſter under arreſt, though the laws render him accountable to you alone for the acts of his adminiſtration, and though he has been inceſſantly ſoliciting an enquiry.

'Roland had proteſted againſt the order, and the bearers of it had withdrawn. He had afterwards left his houſe, to ſpare Errour a crime, while I was on my way to the convention, to give it information of thoſe attempts; but it was in vain that I procured the tranſmiſſion of a letter to the preſident: it was not read. I went thither to demand *juſtice* and *protection*: I demand them again, and with ſtronger claims, for I too am oppreſſed. I demand of the convention, to order an account of the cauſe and the manner of my being apprehended, to be laid before it; and I demand its deciſion. If it confirm my arreſt, I appeal to the law which ordains the declaration of the crime, and the examination of the priſoner within twenty-four hours from the time of his caption. And in the laſt place, I demand a report on the accounts of that irreproachable man, who exhibits an inſtance of perſecution unheard of before, and who ſeems deſtined to give to all Europe the terrible

leſſon

leſſon of virtue proſcribed by the blindneſs of infuriate prejudice.

'If to have ſhared the ſtrictneſs of his principles, the energy of his mind, and the ardour of his love of liberty, be a crime; I plead guilty, and await my puniſhment. Pronounce ſentence, legiſlators: France, freedom, the fate of the republic, and of yourſelves, depend on this day's diſtribution of that juſtice, which it is yours to diſpenſe.'

The agitation, in which I had paſſed the preceding night, made me feel extreme fatigue. I deſired to have a chamber that very evening; and obtained one, of which I took poſſeſſion at ten o'clock. When I entered it, and found myſelf ſurrounded by four dirty walls, in the midſt of which was a bed without curtains; when I perceived a double-grated window; and when I was aſſailed by that ſmell, which a perſon accuſtomed to an apartment extremely clean, always finds in thoſe that are not ſo, I was ſenſible that I was indeed an inhabitant of a priſon, and that I had no pleaſure to expect from ſuch a ſituation. My room, however, was ſufficiently ſpacious; there was a fire-place; the bed-clothes were tolerable; a pillow was given me; and eſtimating things, in themſelves, without entering into compariſons, I deemed myſelf not altogether badly accommodated. I went to bed fully reſolved to remain in it as long as I ſhould find myſelf comfortable there; and was not up at ten in the morning, when Grandpré arrived. He did not appear leſs affected, but more uneaſy, than the preceding evening; and caſt a mournful look around the

wretched

wretched room, which already appeared tolerable to *me*, for I had ſlept in it.

'How did you paſs the night?' ſaid he with the tears ſtanding in his eyes.—'I was repeatedly waked by the noiſe; but fell aſleep again as ſoon as it was over, in ſpite even of the alarm-bell, which I thought I heard this morning.—Ha!—is it not ſounding ſtill?'—'Why I thought ſo:—but it is nothing.'—'Be it as it pleaſes heaven: if they kill me, it ſhall be in this bed; for I am ſo weary, that here I will expect my fate. Is any thing new brought forward againſt the members?'—'No. I have brought back your letter. It is my opinion, as well as Champagneux's, that the beginning ſhould be ſoftened. Here is what we propoſe to ſubſtitute; and then you ſhould write a line or two to the miniſter of the home department, that he may tranſmit your letter officially, which would enable me the better to ſolicit its being read.'—I took the paper; looked at it; and ſaid to him, 'If I thought my letter would be read as it now ſtands, ſo it ſhould remain, even were I ſure of its being attended with no advantage to myſelf; for it is hardly poſſible to hope for juſtice from the convention. The truths addreſſed to it are not for an aſſembly which is at preſent incapable of putting them in practice; but they ſhould be uttered, that they may be heard by the departments.'

I perceived, that my exordium might prevent the reading of the letter, and that conſequently it would be a folly to let it ſtand: I therefore omitted the firſt three paragraphs, and ſubſtituted what was propoſed to me in their ſtead. As to the miniſter's interference, I was ſenſible it would render the proceeding more regular:

gular: and though Garat ſcarcely deſerved the honour of being written to, I knew how to do it without leſſening myſelf, and addreſſed him in the following lines.

'To the MINISTER of the Interior Department.

'THE part of adminiſtration allotted to you, citizen, gives you a right to ſuperintend the execution of the laws, and to denounce their violation by authorities that hold them in contempt. I am perſuaded, a ſenſe of juſtice will make you happy to tranſmit to the convention the complaints I have but too much occaſion to make againſt the oppreſſion, of which I am the victim.'

Riſing about noon, I conſidered how I ſhould arrange my new apartment. With a clean napkin I covered a little paltry table, which I placed near my window, intending that it ſhould ſerve me for a bureau, and reſolved to eat my meals on a corner of the chimney-piece, that I might keep the table clean, and in order, for writing. Two large hat-pins, ſtuck into the boards, ſerved me as a port manteau. In my pocket I had Thomſon's Seaſons, a work which I was fond of on more than one account; and I made a memorandum of ſuch other books as I ſhould wiſh to procure. Firſt, Plutarch's Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons, which at eight years of age I uſed to carry to church inſtead of the Exerciſes of the holy week, and which I had not read regularly ſince that early period: then Hume's Hiſtory of England, and Sheridan's Dic-

tionary, in order to improve myſelf in the Engliſh language. I would rather have continued to read Mrs. Macaulay; but the perſon, who had lent me ſome of the firſt volumes, was not at home; and I ſhould not have known where to enquire for the work, as I had already tried in vain to get it from the bookſellers. I could not avoid ſmiling at my peaceful preparations; for there was a great tumult in the town: the drums were continually beating to arms, and I knew not what might be the event. At any rate, ſaid I to myſelf, they will not prevent my living to my laſt moment: more happy in my conſcious innocence, than they can be with the rage that animates them. If they come, I will advance to meet them, and go to death as a man would go to repoſe.

The keeper's wife came to invite me to her apartment, where ſhe had directed my cloth to be laid, that I might dine in better air. On repairing thither, I found my faithful maid, who threw herſelf into my arms, bathed in tears, and half ſuffocated by her ſobs. I could not avoid melting into tenderneſs and ſorrow. I almoſt upbraided myſelf with my previous tranquillity, when I reflected on the anxiety of thoſe who were attached to me; and when I deſcribed to myſelf the anguiſh firſt of one friend, and then of another, my heart was rent by the keeneſt ſenſations of grief. Poor woman! how many tears have I cauſed her to ſhed! and for what does not an attachment like her's atone? In the common intercourſe of life ſhe ſometimes treats me roughly, but it is when ſhe thinks me too negligent of what may contribute to my health or happineſs; and when I am in diſtreſs, the office of complaining is her's,

and

and that of conſoling mine. There was no getting rid of ſo inveterate a habit. I endeavoured to prove to her that, by giving way to her grief, ſhe would be leſs capable of rendering me ſervice; that ſhe was more uſeful to me without, than within the walls of the priſon, where ſhe begged me to permit her to remain; and that, upon the whole, I was far from being ſo unfortunate as ſhe imagined, which indeed was true. Whenever I have been ill, I have experienced a particular kind of ſerenity, unqueſtionably proceeding from my mode of contemplating things, and from the law I have laid down for myſelf, of always ſubmitting quietly to neceſſity, inſtead of revolting againſt it. The moment I take to my bed, every duty ſeems at an end, and no ſolicitude whatever has any hold upon me: I am only bound to be there, and to remain there with reſignation, which I do with a very good grace. I give freedom to my imagination; I call up agreeable impreſſions, pleaſing remembrances, and ideas of happineſs; all exertions, all reaſonings, and all calculations, I diſcard: giving myſelf up entirely to nature, and, peaceful like her, I ſuffer pain without impatience, and ſeek repoſe or cheerfulneſs. I find that impriſonment produces on me nearly the ſame effect as diſeaſe: I am only bound to be in priſon, and what great hardſhip is there in it? I am not ſuch very bad company for myſelf.

I ſoon learnt that I muſt change my habitation. Victims were abundant, and the chamber into which I had been put would contain more than one bed. That I might be alone, I was obliged in the evening to be ſhut up in a little cloſet, and conſequently to remove the whole of my eſtabliſhment. The

window of my new apartment is, I believe, over the ſentry, who guards the priſon-gate. All the night I heard, *Who goes there?—kill him!—guard!—patrole!*—called out in a thundering voice. The houſes were illuminated; and from the number and frequency of the patroles it was eaſy to infer, there had been ſome commotions, and that more were to be feared. I roſe early, and employed myſelf in my houſehold affairs; that is to ſay, in making my bed, in cleaning my little place, and in rendering my perſon and every thing about me as neat as I could. Had I deſired theſe things to be done for me, I knew that I ſhould not have been refuſed; but I was aware, I muſt have paid for them dearly, waited a long time, and had them done in a very ſlovenly manner at laſt. By taking the office on myſelf I was ſure to be a gainer: I was ſure that I ſhould be better and ſooner ſerved, and that the trifling preſents I might make would be rated the higher, becauſe they would be altogether gratuitous. I waited with impatience to hear the maſſy bolts of my door opened, that I might aſk for a newſpaper. I read it: the decree of impeachment againſt the twenty-two was paſſed: the paper fell from my hands, and in a tranſport of grief I exclaimed, 'My country is undone!'

Firm and tranquil, while I imagined myſelf alone, or nearly alone, beneath the yoke of oppreſſion, I formed wiſhes for the future, and was not without hope that the defenders of liberty would triumph. But guilt and error have obtained the aſcendancy; the national repreſentation is violated; its integrity is deſtroyed; every one in it remarkable for probity, ſpirit, and talents, is proſcribed; the commune of Paris overawes the legiſlative body;

Paris is undone; the torch of civil war is lighted up; the enemy is about to avail himſelf of our diviſions; freedom is loſt to the north of France; and the whole republic is become a prey to the moſt dreadful diſſenſions. Farewell my country! ſublime illuſions, generous ſacrifices, hope, and happineſs, farewell! At twelve years old I lamented, in the firſt expanſions of my youthful boſom, that I was not born a citizen of Sparta, or of Rome; and in the French revolution I thought I ſaw the unhoped for application of the principles impreſſed upon my mind. Liberty, ſaid I, has two ſources; good manners, which produce ſage laws; and knowledge, which leads us to both, by making us acquainted with our rights: my ſoul will no longer be afflicted by the ſpectacle of mankind debaſed: the human race will improve; and the happineſs of all will become the foundation and the ſecurity of that of each individual. Splendid chimeras! dear deluſions, from which I reaped ſo much delight, you are all diſpelled by the horrible corruption of this vaſt city. I deſpiſed life: the loſs of you makes me deteſt it, and defy the utmoſt fury of the men of blood. Anarchiſts, ſavages, for what await you? You who have proſcribed virtue, why do you not ſpill the blood of thoſe who obey her laws? when ſhed upon the earth, it will make her open her devouring jaws, and ſwallow you up.

The courſe of things ought to have made me foreſee the event: but I could not eaſily bring myſelf to believe, that the bulk of the convention would not pauſe at the magnitude of the danger; nor could I help being aſtoniſhed at the deciſive act, which tolled its paſſing bell.

At

At preſent a ſullen ſort of indignation prevails over every other ſentiment: as indifferent as ever to what concerns myſelf, my hopes for others are feeble; and I wait for events with more curioſity than deſire: I no longer live to feel, but to know. It was not long ere I learnt that the revolutionary movement which was ordered on purpoſe to extort the decree of impeachment, had excited ſome uneaſineſs about the priſons. That was the cauſe of the ſtrict and noiſy guard during the night; and that the reaſon why the citizens of the ſection of Unity would not obey the beat of drum, which called them to the convention; but remained at home, to watch over their property, and the priſon within their precinct. I diſcovered the motive of Grandpré's alarm and diſquietude, and the next day he confeſſed his apprehenſions. He had repaired to the aſſembly, to obtain the reading of my letter; and, during eight ſucceſſive hours, he, as well as ſeveral of the members, had repeatedly requeſted it of the preſident in vain: it was therefore evident, that I ſhould not be able to get it read at all. Finding by the *Monitor*, that my ſection (that of Beaurepaire) had expreſſed its ſentiments in my favour, even after my impriſonment, it occurred to me to write to it; and I did ſo in the following terms.

'Citizens,

'THE public papers inform me, that you have placed Roland and his wife under the ſafeguard of your ſection. This I knew not when I was dragged from my family: on the contrary, the bearer of the orders of the commune repreſented the armed force, by which he was

accompanied, as that of the ſection, granted him on his requiſition, and ſo it was ſtated in the minutes that were taken down. The moment I was ſhut up in the Abbey, I wrote to the convention, and applied to the miniſter of the interior-department, to forward my complaint. I underſtand he complied with my requeſt, and that the letter was delivered; but not read. I have the honour to tranſmit you an atteſted copy. If the ſection think it not beneath its dignity to plead the cauſe of ſuffering innocence, it will be eaſy to ſend a deputation to the bar of the convention, there to make known my juſt complaints, and to add weight to my reclamations. This point I ſubmit to its *wiſdom:* I add no *intreaty*, for *truth* has but one language, and that is the expoſition of *facts*. Citizens who love *juſtice* are not fond of having *ſupplications* addreſſed to them, and *innocence* is incapable of aſſuming the character of a ſuppliant.

'P. S. This is the fourth day of my detention, and I have not yet been examined. I muſt obſerve, that the order of arreſt aſſigned no reaſon for my confinement; but imported, that I ſhould be interrogated on the following day.'

Several days elapſed without my hearing any thing, and ſtill I underwent no examination. I had however received a great many viſits from adminiſtrators with fooliſh faces and dirty ribbands, ſome of whom ſaid they belonged to the police, others to I know not what; violent ſans-culottes, with filthy hair, and ſtrict obſervers of the order of the day, who came to know whether the priſoners were ſatisfied with their treatment. I had expreſſed

preſſed myſelf to them all with the energy and dignity ſuitable to oppreſſed innocence; and had noticed among them two or three men of good ſenſe, who underſtood me, without daring to take my part. I was at dinner, when five or ſix were announced to me all at once. One came a little forward: he, who aſſumed the office of ſpeaker, appeared to me, before he opened his lips, one of thoſe empty-headed babblers, who judge of their merit by the volubility of their tongue.—'Good morrow, *Citoyenne*.'—'Good morrow, ſir.'—'Are you ſatisfied with this houſe? Have you any reaſon to complain of your treatment, or any particular demand to make?'—'I complain of being here; and demand my enlargement.'—'Is your health impaired? or does ſolitude affect your ſpirits?'—'I am in good health, and not at all out of ſpirits. *Ennui* is the diſeaſe of hearts without feeling, and of minds that have no reſources in themſelves. But I have a ſtrong feeling of injuſtice, and proteſt againſt the lawleſs oppreſſion, which took me into cuſtody without cauſe, and has ſince detained me without examination.'—'Why, in a period of revolution, there is ſo much to be done, that there is not time to attend to every thing.'—'A woman, to whom king Philip made nearly the ſame reply, anſwered him: "if thou haſt not time to do me juſtice, thou haſt not time to be king." Take care you do not oblige oppreſſed citizens to ſay the ſame thing to the people, or rather to the arbitrary authorities, by which the people is miſled.'—'Adieu, *citoyenne!*'—'Adieu!'—And away went the flippant gentleman, not knowing what anſwer to make to my reaſons. Theſe people appeared to me to have entered purpoſely to ſee how I looked in my cage; but they

might go a great way, before they would find dolts like themſelves.

I have already mentioned my having inquired into the way of living in theſe places. Not that I ſet any great value on what are called the comforts of life. I make no ſcruple of enjoying them when it can be done without inconvenience; but it is always in moderation; and when it is neceſſary there is no one of them that I cannot forego. It is from a natural love of order that I deſire to know the amount of my expenſes, and to regulate them according to the circumſtances of my ſituation.

I was informed that Roland, when miniſter, thought five livres [4s. 2d.] a head, the daily allowance of the priſoners, a great deal too much, and reduced it to two [1s. 8d.]: but the exceſſive riſe in the price of proviſions, which within theſe few months has been tripled, renders this allowance ſcanty enough: for the nation allowing nothing but ſtraw and the bare walls, twenty ſous [10d.] are deducted in the firſt place, as an indemnification to the keeper for his expenſes, that is to ſay, for the bed and trifling furniture of the room. Out of the twenty ſous remaining, candles, fire, if neceſſary, and meat and drink, are to be provided. The ſum is inſufficient for the purpoſe; but every priſoner is free, of courſe, to make what addition he pleaſes to his expenſe. As I am not fond of ſpending much on myſelf; and take a pleaſure in trying my ſtrength at privation, I felt a deſire of making an experiment how far the human will is capable of diminiſhing our wants: but to go any great length, it is neceſſary to proceed by degrees. At the end of four days, I began by retrenching my breakfaſt, and

ſubſtituting

ſubſtituting bread and water for coffee and chocolate: I deſired to have for dinner one plain diſh of meat, with a few greens; and vegetables for my ſupper without a deſert. To break myſelf of drinking wine, I took firſt to beer, and then I left off that alſo. As this regimen, however, had a moral purpoſe, and as I have as much averſion as contempt for uſeleſs economy, I began by giving a certain ſum for the uſe of the miſerable wretches, who were lying upon ſtraw; that, while eating my dry bread in a morning, I might have the ſatisfaction to reflect, that the poor devils would owe to me their being able to add ſomething to their's at dinner. If I remain here ſix months, I will engage to leave the place with a healthy complexion, and a body by no means emaciated, having reduced my wants ſo far as to be ſatisfied with ſoup and bread, and deſerved a few benedictions *incognito*. I made ſome preſents alſo, but with quite a different view, to the ſervants belonging to the priſon. When a perſon is, or appears to be, rigidly economical in point of expenſe, he ought to be generous to others, if he would wiſh to avoid blame, particularly when the people about him derive from that expenſe their only emolument. I require neither attentions to be paid me, nor purchaſes to be made on my account; I ſend out for nothing; I employ nobody: I ſhould be conſequently the worſt of priſoners to the domeſtics, who make their little profits on what they are commiſſioned to provide or procure: it is fitting, therefore, that I ſhould pay for the ſtate of independence in which I place myſelf: by ſo doing I render it more perfect, and am moreover a gainer in good will.

I have received ſeveral viſits from the excellent Champaneux and the worthy Boſc. The former, father of a numerous family, was attached to liberty from principle, and had profeſſed its ſound doctrines from the very commencement of the revolution, in a journal, intended for the information of his fellow citizens. A good judgment, gentleneſs of manners, and great induſtry, are the moſt prominent features of his character. Roland, when miniſter, placed him at the head of the firſt diviſion of the home department; and it was one of the beſt appointments he made: though by the way he was not leſs happy in other principal clerks, ſuch as the active and ingenuous Camus, the able Fépoul, and ſeveral more. Never were offices better filled; nor could any thing but their excellent organization enable Garat to ſupport a burden ſo far beyond his ſtrength. It is to the honeſty and capacity of ſuch agents that he is indebted for the tranquillity he is allowed to enjoy. Of this he is ſenſible; and he ſaid with good reaſon, that he would give up his ſituation, if he were obliged to make any change in his official eſtabliſhment. Notwithſtanding this, he will be forced to quit his poſt, for no talents in aſſiſtants can compenſate a miniſter's want of firmneſs: irreſolution is the worſt of faults in thoſe who govern, particularly in the midſt of jarring factions. Garat and Barrère, as private individuals, would not be deemed deficient in ſenſe or honeſty: but the one charged with the executive power, and the other empowered to legiſlate, would ruin all the ſtates in the world by their half-meaſures: their rage for what they term conciliatory plans propels them in that oblique path, which leads directly to miſchief and

and confuſion. There ſhould be nothing conciliatory about a ſtateſman but his manner; I mean his mode of behaviour to thoſe whom he employs: he ought to avail himſelf of the very paſſions and faults of thoſe whoſe conduct he directs, or with whom he tranſacts buſineſs: but rigid in his principles, firm and rapid in action, no obſtacle, no conſideration, ſhould make him waver in the former reſpect, or alter his courſe in the latter.

Could Roland unite with his extenſive views, his ſtrength of mind, and his prodigious activity, a little more artfulneſs of manner, he would eaſily govern an empire: but his faults are prejudicial to himſelf alone, while his good qualities are infinitely valuable in the adminiſtration of public affairs.

Boſc, our old friend, a man of an ingenuous diſpoſition, and enlightened mind, came to me the firſt day of my impriſonment, and loſt no time in conducting my daughter to madame Creuzé-la-Touche, who gave her a kind welcome, and treated her like one of her own children, with whom it was ſettled that ſhe ſhould remain under her foſtering care. To be fully ſenſible of the value of this ſtep, it is neceſſary to be acquainted with the perſons. It is neceſſary for a man to deſcribe to himſelf the feeling and open-hearted Boſc, running to the houſe of his friends, taking poſſeſſion of their child, and intruſting her of his own accord to the moſt reſpectable family, as a depoſit which he felt himſelf honoured in confiding to their hands, and which he knew would be received with the pleaſure experienced by delicate minds, when an opportunity is offered them of doing good. It is neceſſary

neceſſary to have been acquainted with the patriarchal manners, the domeſtic virtues of Creuzé and his wife, and with the gentleneſs and goodneſs of diſpoſition for which they are remarkable, to judge of the welcome they gave my girl, and to be ſenſible of what it was worth.

Who, then, is to be pitied in all this? Roland alone: Roland, perſecuted and proſcribed; Roland, to whom the examination of his accounts is denied; Roland, compelled to conceal himſelf like a criminal; to avoid the blind fury of men miſled by his enemies; to tremble for the ſafety even of thoſe who give him ſhelter; to drink in ſilence the bitter cup of his wife's impriſonment, and of the ſequeſtration of all his property; and to await, in a ſtate of incertitude, the reign of juſtice, which can never indemnify him for all that perverſity will have made him ſuffer.

My ſection, actuated by the beſt principles, had come on the third of the month to a reſolution, which breathed the ſpirit of juſtice, and which eſtabliſhed the right of citizens, to proteſt againſt arbitrary impriſonment, and even to reſiſt it if attempted. My letter was read there, and liſtened to with concern. The debate, that took place in conſequence, having been prolonged to the next day, the mountaineers laid their heads together: the alarm was given to their party; and a whole hoſt of furious deputies arrived from the other ſections, with a view to diſturb the proceedings, and deliberations, and, if poſſible, to pervert the ſpirit of mine, or elſe in the hope of terrifying it by menaces, and of engaging a majority of the ſections to deprive it of its arms.

In the mean time, being urged by Grandpré to neglect no

no means of ſhortening the term of my captivity, I wrote again to Garat, and to Gohier alſo. The latter, whom I ſcarcely ever ſaw or knew, with at leaſt as much weakneſs as Garat, appeared to me inferiour to him in every other reſpect. I could not eaſily write to ſuch men, without giving them leſſons; and they were ſevere. Grandpré thinking them mortifying, though juſt, I ſoftened ſome of the expreſſions; and contented myſelf with the following words,

'Madame ROLAND to the MINISTER of Juſtice.

Abbey Priſon, June 8, 1793.

'I AM ſuffering oppreſſion: I am therefore entitled to remind you of *my* rights and of *your* duties.

'An arbitrary order, without ſpecifying any charge, has plunged me into this dungeon prepared for criminals. I have inhabited it a week, and as yet I have not been examined.

'The decrees of the convention are known to you. They direct you to viſit the priſons, and to enlarge thoſe who are detained without juſt cauſe. Another has alſo lately been paſſed, enjoining you to require the communication of all the warrants that are iſſued, to ſee that they be grounded upon ſome ſpecific charge, and to take care that all perſons in cuſtody be examined.

'I tranſmit to you an atteſted copy of that warrant by virtue of which I was taken from my home, and brought hither.

'I demand the execution of the law, on my own account, and even on yours. Innocent and firm, injuſtice may reach, but cannot debaſe me, and I can ſubmit

to it with pride, at a time when virtue is proſcribed *. As to you, placed as you are between the law and diſhonour, your inclination cannot be doubted: and you are to be pitied, if you have not courage to act according to its dictates.'

'To the MINISTER of the Home Department.

June 8, 1793.

'I KNOW that you have tranſmitted my complaints to the legiſlative body; but my letter has not been read. Have you fulfilled the whole of your duty by forwarding it at my requeſt?—I have been apprehended, without the ſpecification of any reaſon: and I have been detained a week, without examination. It behoves you, as a man in office, when you have not been able to ſave innocence from oppreſſion, to endeavour at leaſt to bring about its delivery.

'You are more intereſted, perhaps, than myſelf, in the taſk I requeſt you to undertake. I am not the only victim of prejudice and envy: and their preſent attacks upon every one remarkable for the union of a firm mind with virtue and talents, renders the perſecution honourable, of which I am the object, and for which I am indebted to my connexion with the venerable man, whoſe cauſe poſterity will revenge. But you, who are now at the helm, if incapable of holding it with a firm hand, will

* Here followed originally: 'But it is incumbent on you, placed between the law and diſhonour, either to fulfil the duties of your place, or reſign it; you muſt otherwiſe incur that infamy, with which poſterity will brand weakneſs like yours.'

not

not eſcape the reproach of abandoning the veſſel to the waves, the diſgrace of having occupied a poſt which you could not maintain.

'Factions paſs away, juſtice alone remains unalterable: and of all the faults of men in place weakneſs is the leaſt pardonable, becauſe it is the ſource of the greateſt diſorders, particularly in troubleſome times.

'I need not add any thing to theſe reflections, if they reach you in time for you and for myſelf, or urge their application to my own concerns; ſince nothing can ſupply the want of courage and of good-will.'

Moſt certainly the miniſters, who neglected and deſpiſed the decrees, that enjoined them to proſecute the authors of the maſſacre of September, and the conſpirators of the 10th of March; men, whoſe weak and unworthy conduct on thoſe occaſions emboldened guilt, favoured its enterprizes, and inſured this new inſurrection, in which blindneſs and audacity, preſcribing laws to the national convention, call forth all the evils of civil war; ſuch men certainly will not be the impeachers of oppreſſion. From them I expect nothing; and the truths I addreſs to them are rather intended to ſhow them what they ought, and what they have failed, to do, than to procure me that juſtice, which they are incapable of rendering, unleſs a little ſhame ſhould chance to produce a miracle.

Eſop repreſents all the animals, who uſually trembled at the aſpect of the lion, coming, every one in his turn, to inſult him when he fell ſick: in like manner the mob of little minds, actuated either by deluſion or jealouſy, fall with fury upon thoſe, whom oppreſſion holds captive,

or

or whoſe means of defence it diminiſhes, by lowering them in the opinion of the world. Of this the Thermometer of the Day, for the 9th of June, No. 526, affords an example. Therein appears, under the title of examination of L. P. d'Orleans, a ſeries of queſtions, amongſt which the following charge is worthy of remark: 'of having been preſent at ſecret cabals, held by night in the apartment of Buzot's wife, in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, whither Dumouriez, Roland and his wife, Vergniaux, Briſſot, Genſonné, Gorſas, Louvet, Pétion, Guadet, and others uſed to repair.'

What atrocious wickedneſs! and what exceſs of impudence! The deputies here named are preciſely thoſe, who voted for the baniſhment of the Bourbons. Thoſe high-ſpirited defenders of freedom never conſidered d'Orleans as a leader poſſeſſed of capacity; but he always appeared to them a dangerous tool. They were the firſt to dread his vices, his wealth, his connexions, his popularity, and his faction; to denounce the latter, and to hunt down thoſe, who appeared to be its agents. Louvet marked them out in his Philippic againſt Robeſpierre; a valuable piece, as is every thing from his pen. In that compoſition, which hiſtory will carefully preſerve, he follows them ſtep by ſtep to the electoral aſſembly, whence d'Orleans iſſued a deputy. Buzot, whoſe perſevering energy has procured him the hatred of the factious, embraced the firſt favourable opportunity, to demand the baniſhment of the Bourbons; a meaſure, which he looked upon as indiſpenſable, from the moment the convention reſolved to paſs judgment on Lewis. Neither Roland, nor I, ever ſaw d'Orleans. I even refuſed to receive Sillery, though he

he was mentioned to me as as a good and amiable man, becauſe his connexion with d'Orleans rendered him ſuſpicious. I remember two curious letters on the ſubject; one of which was written by madame Sillery to Louvet, after he had ſupported Buzot's motion. 'Here,' ſaid Louvet, communicating the letter to me, 'is a proof that we are not miſtaken, and that the Orleans party is no chimera. Madame Sillery would not write in ſuch terms, if it were not a thing agreed upon between her and the parties concerned. If they be ſo much afraid of baniſhment, it muſt be becauſe exile will defeat ſome of their ſchemes.' In fact, the object of the ſtudied letter of madame Sillery was to prevail upon Louvet to change his opinion; to perſuade him, that the republican principles, in which the children of d'Orleans had been educated, rendered them the moſt zealous partizans of a commonwealth; and that it was both cruel and impolitic to ſacrifice individuals, who might certainly be made uſeful, to prejudices alike unjuſt and abſurd.

The other letter was Louvet's anſwer: replete with wit and dignity, it ſet forth the reaſons on which he founded his opinion in terms equally forcible and polite. Among other things he ſaid, that the monarchical principles, the ariſtocratical and other prejudices, which appeared in the works of madame Sillery herſelf, were far from ſatisfying him with reſpect to thoſe of her pupils; and he perſiſted with all the ſpirit of a free man in an opinion which the love of his country inſpired.

As to the pretended cabals at Buzot's wife's, nothing in the world can be ſo ridiculous. Buzot, whom I had frequent occaſions of ſeeing at the time of the conſtituent aſſembly, and with whom I had remained in friendly intercourſe;

tercourſe; Buzot, whoſe ſpirit, ſenſibility, purity of principles, and gentleneſs of manners, inſpired me with infinite eſteem and attachment, came frequently to the *Hôtel de l'Interieur*: his wife I have viſited only once ſince they came to Paris on the meeting of the convention; nor had they ever the ſlighteſt connexion with Dumouriez.

Indignant at theſe abſurdities, I took up my pen to write to Dulaure, the editor of the *Thermometre du jour*, a worthy man, with whom I lived on friendly terms until the moment he was ſeduced by the mountaineers *.

Madame ROLAND to the Deputy DULAURE, Author of the *Thermometre du jour*.

Abbey Priſon, June 9, 1793.

'IF any thing could add to the aſtoniſhment of innocence, when it finds itſelf under the yoke of oppreſſion, I ſhould tell you, citizen, that I have juſt read with the greateſt ſurpriſe the abſurdities contained in your paper of this day, under the title of examination of Philip d'Orleans, which chance has thrown in my way. It would appear very ſtrange, had not experience proved it to be only very impudent, that thoſe perſons who firſt feared, denounced, and watched the manœuvres of the faction of d'Orleans, ſhould be repreſented as having formed it themſelves.

* I have ſince learnt, that the late exceſſes of the mountain have opened his eyes, and brought him to a proper ſenſe of its principles.

'Time will unqueſtionably clear up this myſtery of iniquity: but while waiting for *its* juſtice, which may be tardy in the midſt of ſuch dreadful corruption, it appears to me incumbent on *your's*, when publiſhing the queſtions of an interrogatory calculated to excite ſuſpicions, to publiſh at the ſame time the anſwers, which muſt have been made, and which may ſerve to ſhow the degree of credit they deſerve.

'This act of juſtice is the more ſtrictly requiſite, as calumny and perſecution cloſely purſue the perſons named in thoſe queſtions; and as moſt of them are faſt held in the toils of a decree, extorted by audacity and prejudice from the hands of weakneſs and error. I myſelf have been confined a week, by virtue of a mandate which ſpecifies no reaſon for my arreſt. I have never been examined: I have not been able to obtain a hearing of my complaints from the convention; and when they were told, that thoſe complaints had been ſuppreſſed, they paſſed to the order of the day, under the pretence of its not being their concern. What! then new authorities act in the moſt arbitrary manner, while the conſtituted powers bow before them, and the acts of injuſtice they commit are not to be repreſented to the convention! It is not then to the legiſlative body that complaints ſhould be addreſſed, when there remains none other to hear them! It can intereſt itſelf in favour of perſons confined by order of the tribunal of Marſeilles; while I, who am confined here by a revolutionary committee, have no longer any rights! —And the commune makes the newſpapers repeat, that the priſons of Paris contain nothing but aſſaſſins, thieves, and counter-revolutioniſts!—Citizen, I have known you: I believe you honeſt: how will you grieve on ſome

future day!—I tranſmit to you ſome notes, which I beg you to peruſe: and I requeſt you to inſert in your paper that letter, which I could not get read at the convention. You owe me this piece of juſtice, as circumſtances ſufficiently demonſtrate; and if your own feelings do not tell you ſo, I ſhould urge the matter in vain.

'P. S. Neither Roland nor I ever ſaw Philip d'Orleans: and I can moreover ſay, that I have always heard the deputies mentioned in the interrogatory, as quoted by the Thermometer of this day, profeſs for him a contempt ſimilar to that with which he inſpired me. If, in ſhort, we ever talked of him at all, it was to ſpeak of the fears which the true friends of liberty might feel on his account, and of the conſequent neceſſity of baniſhing him from the republic.'

As circumſtances have led me to mention Dumouriez, I will ſay what I know of him, and what I think: but this carries me back to Roland's firſt adminiſtration, and leads me to relate here how a man ſo auſtere in his manners came to be nominated to a place, which kings ſeldom fill with ſimilar characters. I ſhall take up the thread of my narrative at a period ſomewhat remote; and ſhall be indebted to my captivity for leiſure to record facts, and recollect circumſtances, which otherwiſe, perhaps, would never have employed my pen.

Roland executed the office of inſpector of commerce and manufactures in the *generality* * of Lyons, with that

* Certain provinces, ſubject to the *general* laws of the empire, were called *generalities*, in contradiſtinction to the *Pays d'Etat*, or Provinces annexed to France with the reſerve of their particular privileges. *Tranſ.*

knowledge and thoſe adminiſtrative views, that ought to have diſtinguiſhed the body of inſpectors, if government had known how to keep up the ſpirit of the inſtitution, of which Roland was almoſt the only example. Superior to his place in every reſpect, fond of employment, and not inſenſible to the allurements of fame, he digeſted in the ſilence of the cloſet the materials with which his experience and activity had furniſhed him; and continued the Dictionary of Manufactures for the new Encyclopedia. Some of Briſſot's works were ſent to him from the author, as a teſtimony of the eſteem with which he had been inſpired by the principles of liberty and juſtice, that appeared in Roland's writings. That teſtimony was received with the uſual ſenſibility of authors, and with the feelings natural to a man of worth, who finds himſelf praiſed by a perſon of congenial mind. It gave birth to a correſpondence at firſt very unfrequent; but afterwards ſupported by that of one of our friends, who became acquainted with Briſſot at Paris, and ſpoke of his habits of life in a very favourable manner, as preſenting a practical proof of the philoſophical and moral theory contained in his writings. This correſpondence was ſtill further encouraged by the revolution of 1789; for events, ſucceeding each other with rapidity, called forth the moſt vigorous exertions of the minds and ſouls of philoſophers prepared for liberty; and produced intereſting communications between thoſe, whoſe boſoms were enflamed with the love of their fellow-creatures, and the hope of ſeeing the univerſal reign of juſtice and happineſs arrive. Briſſot having at this juncture begun a periodical paper, that will be often conſulted on account of the excellent reaſoning it contains, we ſent him every

thing, of which circumſtances ſeemed to make the publicity uſeful. Ere long our acquaintance received its laſt degree of improvement; and we became intimate and confidential friends, without ever having ſeen one another's faces.

Amid thoſe ſtruggles unavoidable in a period of revolution, when principles, prejudices, and paſſions, raiſe inſurmountable obſtacles between perſons, who had before appeared well diſpoſed to agree, Roland was elected a member of the municipality of Lyons. His ſituation in life, his family, and his connexions, were ſuch as might be ſuppoſed to attach him to the ariſtocracy: while his turn of mind and reputation rendered him intereſting to the popular party, to which he was naturally led to devote himſelf by his philoſophy, and the auſterity of his manners. No ſooner had he taken a decided part, than he made himſelf many enemies, ſo much the more violent, as his inflexible integrity laid open without reſerve the numerous abuſes that had crept into the adminiſtration of the finances of the town. They exhibited an epitome of the dilapidations of thoſe of the ſtate, the debt of the city of Lyons amounting to no leſs than forty millions of livres [£1,666,667]. It was become indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſolicit aſſiſtance, for the manufactures had ſuffered in the firſt year of the revolution, and twenty thouſand workmen had been out of bread during the whole of the winter. It was therefore reſolved to ſend a deputy extraordinary to the conſtituent aſſembly, to make known the circumſtances, and Roland was the perſon choſen. We arrived at Paris the 20th of February, 1791. I had been five years abſent from the place of my nativity; I had watched the progreſs of the

the revolution, and the labours of the aſſembly; and had ſtudied the characters and talents of its leading members, with an intereſt not eaſily to be conceived, and ſcarcely to be appreciated except by thoſe who are acquainted with my ardent and active turn of mind. I haſtened to attend their ſittings; and there I ſaw the powerful Mirabeau *, the aſtoniſhing Cazalés, the daring Maury, the artful Lameths, and the frigid Barnave: I remarked with vexation that kind of ſuperiority on the ſide of the *blacks* †, that dignified habits, purity of language, and poliſhed manners, give in large aſſemblies; but the ſtrength of reaſon, the courage of intregity, the lights of philoſophy, the fruits of ſtudy, and the fluency of the bar, could not fail to ſecure the triumph of the patriots of the *left*, if they were all honeſt, and could but remain united.

Briſſot came to viſit us. I know nothing ſo pleaſant as a firſt interview between perſons, who have grown intimate by means of an epiſtolary correſpondence, without being perſonally acquainted. They gaze upon each other, curious to obſerve whether the features of the face accord with the phyſignomy of the mind, and whe-

* The only man in the revolution, whoſe genius could guide the others, and ſway the whole aſſembly. Great from his talents, little from his vices, but always ſuperior to the multitude, and always maſter of himſelf, when he would take the pains to command his paſſions. He died ſoon after: I thought ſeaſonably for his fame, and for freedom: though events have inſtructed me to regret him. The counterpoiſe of a man of ſuch weight was wanting, to check the action of a pack of curs, and preſerve us from the domination of ruffians.

† The court party, ſo called. The uniform of the emigrants aſſembled at Coblentz with the princes was black. *Tranſ.*

ther the perſon's outſide confirm the opinion of him that had been previouſly entertained. The ſimple manners, natural negligence, and frankneſs of Briſſot, appeared to me in perfect harmony with the auſterity of his principles; but I found in him a ſort of levity of mind and diſpoſition, which was not equally ſuitable to the gravity of a philoſopher. This always gave me pain, and of this his enemies never failed to take advantage. In proportion as I became more acquainted with him, I eſteemed him the more. It is not in human nature to combine more complete diſintereſtedneſs with greater zeal for the public welfare, or to purſue the general good with more entire forgetfulneſs of private intereſt: but his writings are better fitted to effectuate it than his perſon; for *they* carry with them all the authority, which reaſon, juſtice, and intelligence can give; while in perſon he can aſſume none, for want of dignity. He is the beſt of men. A good huſband, an affectionate father, a faithful friend, and a virtuous citizen, his company is as agreeable, as his temper is eaſy: confiding even to imprudence, and as gay, as ſimple, and as ingenuous, as a boy of fifteen, he was formed to live with the wiſe, and to be the dupe of the wicked. Learned in the ſcience of law, and devoted from his youth to the ſtudy of ſocial duties, and the great means of human happineſs, he judges well of man, but of men he has no ſort of knowledge. He knows, that vice exiſts; but he cannot believe any one vicious, who ſpeaks to him with an open countenance: and when he has diſcovered a man to be ſo, he treats him as an idiot, who is to be pitied, without harbouring the leaſt miſtruſt. Of hatred he is incapable: one would ſuppoſe that his mind, with all its ſenſibility, poſſeſſes not ſufficient ſtrength for a ſentiment

timent of ſuch energy. Extenſive in his knowledge, he writes with extreme facility, and compoſes a treatiſe, as another would copy a ſong: hence the diſcriminating eye diſcerns in his works the haſty touch of a quick, and often light mind, though the groundwork itſelf is excellent. His activity and good-nature, which make him ready to do any thing, which he conceives may be of uſe, have given him an appearance of interfering in every thing; and have drawn upon him the charge of intriguing, from thoſe who are in want of a ſubject of accuſation. What a curious intriguer is a man, who never attends to himſelf, or thoſe belonging to him; who is alike incapable of, and averſe to, conſulting his own intereſt; and who is no more aſhamed of poverty, than afraid of death, looking upon both of them as the uſual rewards of public virtue. I have ſeen him dedicating his whole time to the revolution, for no other end than to forward the triumph of truth, and promote the welfare of the public; and aſſiduouſly employed in the compoſition of his journal, which he might eaſily have made a matter of ſpeculation, if he had not choſen to be content with the moderate recompence made him by his partner. His wife, as humble as himſelf, with a great deal of good ſenſe, and ſome ſtrength of mind, judged more properly of things. Ever ſince their marriage her views had been turned towards the United States of America, as the abode moſt ſuitable to their taſte and manners, and a place where it was eaſy to ſettle with very ſlender means. Briſſot had made a voyage thither in conſequence; and they were on the point of embarking for that diſtant ſhore, when the revolution came and chained him to his native land.

Born at Chartres, and a ſchool-fellow of Pétion, who is a native of the ſame town, Briſſot became ſtill more intimate with him in the conſtituent aſſembly, where his labours and information were often of uſe to his friend. He made us acquainted with him, as well as with ſeveral other members, whom old habits of friendſhip, or the mere ſimilitude of principles, and zeal for the public good, brought often together to compare their views. It was even agreed upon, that they ſhould meet at my apartment four evenings in the week, becauſe I was a very domeſtic, and could afford them good accommodations, and becauſe my lodgings were ſo ſituated, as to be at no great diſtance from any of the perſons who compoſed this little club.

This arrangement ſuited me perfectly: it made me acquainted with the progreſs of public affairs, in which I felt myſelf deeply intereſted; and favoured my taſte for purſuing political ſpeculations, and ſtudying mankind. I knew what part became one of my ſex, and never ſtepped out of it. The political debates paſſed in my preſence, without my taking any part. Sitting at a table without the circle, I employed myſelf in working at my needle, or writing letters, while they were deliberating; and yet if I diſpatched ten epiſtles, which was ſometimes the caſe, I did not loſe a ſingle ſyllable of what was ſaying, and more than once bit my lips, to reſtrain my impatience to ſpeak.

What ſtruck me moſt, and diſtreſſed me exceedingly, was that ſort of light and frivolous chit-chat, in which men of ſenſe paſs three or four hours, without coming to any concluſion. Taking things in detail, you would have heard excellent principles maintained, good ideas

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ſtarted, and ſome good plans propoſed; but upon bringing the whole together, there appeared to be no path marked out, no fixed reſult, nor any determinate point, towards which it was agreed upon that each perſon ſhould direct his views.

Sometimes for very vexation I could have boxed the ears of theſe philoſophers, whom I daily learnt to eſteem more and more for the honeſty of their hearts, and the purity of their intentions: excellent reaſoners all, and all philoſophers, and learned politicians in theory; but being totally ignorant of the art of managing mankind, and conſequently of ſwaying an aſſembly, their wit and learning were generally laviſhed to no end.

And yet I have known ſome good decrees thus planned, which have afterwards paſſed. But ſoon the coalation of the minority of the nobility completely weakened the *left ſide*, and produced the evils attendant on a reviſal of the conſtitution. There remained but a ſmall number of inflexible men, who durſt contend for principles; and towards the concluſion theſe were reduced to little more than Buzot, Pétion, and Robeſpierre.

At that time Robeſpierre had to me the ſemblance of an honeſt man; and for the ſake of his principles I forgave the defects of his language, and his tireſome way of ſpeaking. I had, however, remarked, that he was always reſerved in theſe committees, hearing the opinions of all, and ſeldom giving his own, or when he did, not being at the pains to ſet forth the reaſons on which it was grounded. I have been told, that the next day he was the firſt to mount the tribune, and to avail himſelf of the arguments which the evening before he had heard delivered

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by his friends. When he was ſometimes gently reproved for this conduct, he would get off by a joke; and his artifice was forgotten, as the effect of that devouring ſelf-love, by which he was ſo cruelly tormented. This however was in ſome degree deſtructive of confidence; for if any expedient were to be deviſed, any mode of proceeding to be determined upon, and any caſt of parts to be adopted in conſequence, there could never be any certainty that Robeſpierre would not come, as it were in a freak, and thwart the buſineſs; or elſe with a view of aſcribing the honour to himſelf, bring forward the affair inconſiderately, and by ſo doing ruin all. Perſuaded at that time that Robeſpierre was paſſionately fond of liberty, I was inclined to attribute his faults to an exceſs of fiery zeal. That kind of reſerve, which ſeems to indicate either the fear of being ſeen through, becauſe we can get nothing by being known, or the diſtruſt of a man who can find no reaſon in his own boſom, for giving others credit for virtue; that kind of reſerve, for which Robeſpierre is remarkable, gave me pain; but I miſtook it for modeſty. Thus it is that, with a favourable prepoſſeſſion, we transform the moſt untoward indications into ſymptoms of the moſt amiable qualities. Never did the ſmile of confidence reſt on the lips of Robeſpierre, while they were almoſt always contracted by the malignant grin of envy, ſtriving to aſſume the features of diſdain. His talents, as an orator, were below mediocrity; his vulgar voice, ill choſen expreſſions, and faulty pronunciation, rendering his diſcourſe extremely tireſome. But he maintained principles with warmth and perſeverance; and there was ſome courage in continuing to do ſo, at a time when the defenders of the cauſe

cauſe of the people were greatly diminiſhed in number. The court deteſted and calumniated them: to ſupport and encourage them, was therefore the duty of a patriot. I eſteemed Robeſpierre on this account; I told him as much; and even when he was not very aſſiduous at the little club, he occaſionally came to take his dinner at our houſe. I had been much ſtruck with the terror that ſeemed to have taken poſſeſſion of his mind on the day of the king's flight to Varennes. That afternoon I found him at Pétion's, where he ſaid with great alarm, that the royal family would never have taken ſuch a ſtep, without having a coalition in Paris, to direct a maſſacre of the patriots; and that he did not expect to live four and twenty hours. Pétion and Briſſot on the contrary ſaid, that the flight would be the king's ruin, and that it ought to be turned to good account: they obſerved that the people were perfectly well diſpoſed, and would be more clearly convinced of the treachery of the court by this ſtep, than they would have been by the ableſt publications: that this ſingle fact rendered it evident to all, that the king was adverſe to the conſtitution, which he had ſworn to maintain; that this was the moment to ſecure a more homogenous form of government; and that it would be proper to prepare men's minds for a republic. Robeſpierre, with his uſual ſneer, and biting his nails, aſked what was a republic? The plan of a paper entitled the Republican, of which two numbers only were publiſhed, was then deviſed. Dumont of Geneva, a man of conſiderable abilities, was the editor; du Châtelet, an officer in the army, lent his name; and Condorcet, Briſſot, and others, were preparing to give their aſſiſtance. The ſeizure of the king's perſon

perſon gave Robeſpierre great pleaſure; he ſaw in it the prevention of much miſchief, and laid aſide the fears he entertained on his own account; but the reſt of the party were ſorry for the event: they were of opinion that it was bringing back a peſt into the government; that intriguing would revive; and that the effervescence of the public mind, allayed by the pleaſure of ſeeing the culprit detained, would no longer ſerve to ſecond the efforts of the friends of freedom. They judged aright; and with the leſs riſk of being miſtaken, as the reconciliation of Lafayette with the Lameths proved the exiſtence of a new coalition, which could not have the public good for its foundation. It was impoſſible to counterbalance it, unleſs by the force of opinion diſplayed in a powerful manner; for which the patriots never had more than their pens, and their voices; but when any popular commotion came to their aid, they welcomed it with pleaſure, without inquiring how it was produced, or giving themſelves much trouble about it. There was behind the curtain a party, whom the ariſtocrats accuſed with ſo much vehemence, that it was impoſſible for the patriots not to be tempted to forgive him, ſo long as they perceived nothing, but what might be made to contribute to the public advantage: beſides, they could not perſuade themſelves that the perſon in queſtion was any way formidable.

It is not eaſy to command our paſſions in the time of a revolution: there is indeed no inſtance of one accompliſhed without their aſſiſtance. Great obſtacles are to be overcome; and this cannot be effected without an ardour, and a devotion to the cauſe, bordering upon enthuſiaſm, or tending to produce it. Hence it is that we

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graſp with avidity at every thing that ſeems to ſerve our purpoſe, and loſe the faculty of perceiving what may prove injurious. Hence that confidence, that eagerneſs to avail ourſelves of a ſudden movement, without tracing it to it's origin, in order to know how to direct it aright: and hence the indelicacy, if I may uſe the expreſſion, of ſuffering the co-operation of agents whom we do not eſteem, but whoſe proceedings we tolerate, becauſe they appear to tend the ſame way as our own. D'Orleans ſtanding ſingly was ſurely not to be feared; but his name, his connexions, his wealth, and his adviſers, gave him great influence; and he unqueſtionably acted a ſecret part in all popular commotions. Men of pure intentions ſuſpected him: but all this they conſidered as a fermentation neceſſary to ſet the inert maſs a working: they contented themſelves with taking no ſhare in them, and flattered themſelves, that they ſhould make every thing turn to the advantage of the public: they were, beſides, more inclined to aſcribe to d'Orleans the deſire of revenging himſelf on a court, by which he had been deſpiſed, and which he was inclined to humble, than any deſign of his own elevation.

The jacobins propoſed a petition to the aſſembly, requeſting it to paſs judgment on the traitor who had fled, or to take the ſenſe of the nation concerning the treatment he might deſerve; and in the mean time to declare, that he had loſt the confidence of the people of Paris. Laclos, that Laclos ſo remarkable for the powers of his mind, whom nature formed for the management of great affairs, but whoſe vices had made him dedicate all his faculties to intrigue; Laclos, devoted to d'Orleans, and of great weight in his council, made this propoſal to the jacobins,

jacobins, who entertained it favourably, and among whom it was abetted by ſome hundreds of motion-makers * and ſtrollers, who came thronging from the Palais-Royal into the place of their meeting at ten o'clock at night. I ſaw them arrive. The ſociety deliberated in the preſence of that mob, who were alſo allowed to give their votes; ſettled the fundamental points of the petition; and appointed a committee to draw it up, of which Laclos and Briſſot were members. They were buſied about it till a late hour of the night: for it had been reſolved, that a deputation of the ſociety ſhould on the following day carry it to the Champ-de-Mars, there to be ſhown to all, who might wiſh to examine or to ſign it. Laclos pretended that he had a head-ach proceeding from want of ſleep, which would not ſuffer him to hold the pen: he therefore requeſted Briſſot to take it; and, while converſing with him about the compoſition, propoſed, for the laſt article, ſome clauſe, I know not what, which called for the reſtoration of royalty, and opened a road for d'Orleans to the throne. Briſſot rejected it with warmth and aſtoniſhment; and the other, like an able politician, gave it up, under the pretence of his not having ſufficiently conſidered its conſequences: well aware, that he ſhould ſtill find means to get it foiſted in; which in fact he did, ſince it made part of a printed paper that was diſperſed as the plan agreed upon by the jacobins. But when the ſociety which aſſembled the next morning to examine the draught of

* In the early part of the revolution, the garden of the *Tuileries*, and the interior of the Palais Royal, were filled with groups of twenty or thirty people, in the midſt of each of which a demagogue called a *motionnaire* was holding forth. *Tranſ.*

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the petition, and ſend it away, was informed, that the national aſſembly had decided on the fate of the king, it diſpatched its commiſſioners to the Champ-de-Mars, to inform the people, that the decree reſpecting the king having paſſed, there was no longer any occaſion for the intended petition. My curioſity had carried me to the *Champ-de-la-federation* *, where there were not more than two or three hundred perſons ſcattered about the environs of the national altar, upon which deputies of the cordeliers, and of the fraternal ſocieties, bearing pikes with pompous inſcriptions, ſtood haranguing ſmall groups, and exciting their indignation againſt Lewis XVI. It was ſaid, that as the jacobins had ſuppreſſed their petition, it was proper that ſuch citizens as were zealous in the people's cauſe ſhould draw up another, and aſſemble for that purpoſe on the enſuing day. Then it was that the partiſans of the court, feeling the neceſſity of employing terror, concerted the means of ſtriking a deciſive blow. They prepared their meaſures accordingly; and the unexpected proclamation of martial law, and its prompt execution, produced what has been juſtly called the *maſſacre of the Champ-de-Mars*. The terrified people durſt not ſtir, while part of the national guard, ſeduced or deceived, ſeconded Lafayette, either out of obſequiouſneſs to the court, or blind confidence in his pretended patriotiſm, and ſerved as a rampart againſt their fellow-citizens; the ſtandard of death was diſplayed from the town-hall; and the reviſion of the conſtitution was effected under its influence. The formation of the club of *Feuillans* had been planned much about the ſame time, to weaken the jacobins; and moſt aſſuredly

* The new name of the Champ de Mars. *Tranſ.*

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the whole proceedings of the coalition at that period proved, how much the court and its partiſans were ſuperior to their adverſaries in weaving a tiſſue of intrigues.

I never knew affright comparable to that of Robeſpierre under theſe circumſtances. There was indeed a rumour of putting him on his trial, which was probably meant only to intimidate him; and it was ſaid, that there was a plot at the Feuillans both againſt him, and the committee, who drew up the petition at the jacobins. Roland and I were really uneaſy on his account, and drove to his houſe, at the farther end of the *Marais*, at eleven at night, to offer him an aſylum: but he had already quitted his habitation. Thence we proceeded to Buzot's to tell him, that perhaps it would not be amiſs, if without leaving the ſociety of the jacobins, he were to enter into that of the feuillans, in order to ſee what was going forward, and to be ready to defend thoſe whom they might wiſh to perſecute. 'There is nothing I would not do,' ſaid Buzot after ſome heſitation, and ſpeaking of Robeſpierre, 'to ſave that unhappy young man; though I am far from entertaining the ſame opinion of him that many others do: he thinks too much of himſelf, to be greatly in love with liberty; but he ſerves its cauſe, and that is enough for me. The public muſt nevertheleſs take place of him; and I ſhould be inconſiſtent in my principles, and exhibit them in a falſe point of view, if I went to the Feuillans. I have too much repugnance to act a part that would oblige me to put on two different faces. Grégoire is gone thither: he will let us know what is going on; but after all, nothing can be done to affect Robeſpierre, without the intervention of the aſſembly, and there I ſhall at all times be ready to

undertake

undertake his defence. As to the Jacobins, where I have been little of late, becauſe my regard for our ſpecies makes me grieve to ſee it more than uſually hideous in that noiſy aſſembly, I ſhall be conſtant in my attendance, as long as the perſecution is kept up againſt a ſociety, which I believe to be uſeful to the cauſe of freedom.' Theſe words of Buzot were exactly deſcriptive of the man: he acts, as he ſpeaks, with truth and rectitude, the ſtricteſt probity, adorned with the pleaſing forms of ſenſibility, being the leading feature of his character. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in our little committee, by the ſoundneſs of his underſtanding, and by that decided manner which beſpeaks a man of integrity. As he lived at no great diſtance from our houſe; and his wife, though ſhe did not appear to poſſeſs a mind congenial to his, was an affable woman; we viſited each other frequently. When the ſucceſs of Roland's miſſion with reſpect to the debt of the commune of Lyons allowed us to return to Beaujolois, we kept up a correſpondence with Buzot and Robeſpierre. That with the former was the more regular: there was a greater familiarity between us, a wider foundation for friendſhip, and a rich ſtock of materials to keep it from flagging. Our friendſhip became intimate and unalterable. Elſewhere I ſhall ſay how this connection grew cloſer ſtill.

Roland's miſſion having detained him ſeven months at Paris, we quitted that city in the middle of September, after his obtaining every thing for Lyons that it could deſire; and ſpent the autumn in the country, employed in the vintage.

One of the laſt acts of the conſtituent aſſembly was the ſuppreſſion of inſpectors. We conſidered, whether we

ſhould determine to remain in the country, or whether it would be better to go and paſs the winter in Paris, where Roland might prefer his claim to a penſion, as a reward for forty years ſervice; and at the ſame time continue his labours for the Encyclopedia, which he would be ſure to find more eaſy in the focus of ſcience, amidſt artiſts and men of letters, than in the depth of a deſert.

We came back to Paris in the month of December. As the members of the conſtituent aſſembly had returned to their ſeveral homes; and Pétion, who had been choſen mayor, was wholly occupied with the cares of that office, we no longer had any rallying point, and ſaw Briſſot himſelf much leſs frequently than before. The whole of our attention was concentrated at home. Roland's active mind inſpired him with the idea of eſtabliſhing a journal of uſeful arts; and by the charms of ſtudy we endeavoured to divert our attention from public affairs, which ſeemed to be in a lamentable ſtate. Several deputies of the legiſlative aſſembly uſed however to meet ſometimes at the apartments which one of them occupied in the *Place Vendôme*; and Roland, whoſe patriotiſm and knowledge were held in high eſteem, was invited to make one of the party: but he diſliked the diſtance, and ſeldom went. One of our friends, who was frequently there, informed us, about the middle of March, that the court, full of alarm and perplexity, was deſirous of doing ſomething to regain its popularity; that it would have no great objection to appoint jacobin miniſters; and that the patriots were buſied in endeavouring to make the choice fall upon men of ſteadineſs and ability; which was of the more importance, as it might only be a ſnare on the part of the court, which would

would not be ſorry to have wrong-headed perſons forced upon it, who might become juſt objects of complaint or deriſion. He added, that ſeveral perſons had turned their thoughts towards Roland, whoſe rank in the republic of letters, adminiſtrative knowledge, and reputation for juſtice and vigour of mind, afforded a proſpect of ſtability. Roland at that time went frequently to the jacobin ſociety, and was one of the perſons employed in its committee of correſpondence. The idea however ſeemed to me to be viſionary, and made but little impreſſion on my mind.

The 21ſt of the ſame month, Briſſot called upon me in the evening, and repeated the ſame thing in a more poſitive manner; aſking at the ſame time whether Roland would conſent to take ſuch a burden on him. I ſaid in anſwer, that, having mentioned the matter to him in the courſe of converſation, when the idea was firſt ſtarted, it had appeared to me, that after taking all the difficulties and danger into the account, his zeal and activity would not object to ſuch a field for exertion; but that it was a buſineſs which required further conſideration. Roland did not ſhrink from the taſk: the idea he entertained of his own abilities inſpired him with a hope of being ſerviceable to the cauſe of freedom and to his country: and ſuch was the anſwer that was given to Briſſot on the following day.

On Friday, the 23d, at eleven in the evening, I ſaw him walk into our apartment with Dumouriez; who came on the breaking up of the council, to inform Roland of his being appointed miniſter for the home-department, and to ſalute him as his colleague. They ſtayed a few minutes; and an hour of the following

day was fixed for Roland to take the oaths. 'There goes a man,' ſaid I when they went away, ſpeaking of Dumouriez, whom I had never ſeen before; 'there goes a man of a ſubtle mind, and a deceitful look; againſt whom perhaps it will behove you to be more upon your guard than againſt any man whatever: he expreſſed great pleaſure at the patriotic choice he was employed to announce, and yet I ſhall not be ſurpriſed if on ſome future day he bring about your diſmiſſion.'—Dumouriez, indeed, at the firſt glance, appeared to me ſo widely different from Roland, that I could not ſuppoſe it poſſible for them to act long in concert. On one ſide I beheld integrity and frankneſs perſonified, with rigid juſtice devoid of all courtly arts, and of all the dexterous manœuvres of a man of the world: on the other I fancied I could recognize a libertine of great parts, a determined adventurer, inclined to make a jeſt of every thing, except his own intereſt and fame. It was not difficult to infer, that ſuch elements would act repulſively upon each other.

Roland's incredible induſtry, his readineſs in buſineſs, and his methodical turn, ſoon enabled him, when miniſter, to make an arrangement in his head of all the various branches of his department. But the principles and habits of the chief clerks rendered his employment extremely laborious. He was obliged to be on his guard, and to contend moſt ſtrenuouſly to prevent any thing contradictory from taking place in his official proceedings; he was engaged in ſhort in one continued ſtruggle with his agents. He ſtrongly felt the neceſſity of changing them; but he was too prudent to do ſo, before he had become familiar with affairs, and ſecured proper perſons to ſupply their places.

places. As to the council, its ſittings rather reſembled the chit-chat of a private party, than the deliberations of ſtateſmen. Each miniſter brought with him ordinances and proclamations to be ſigned; and the miniſter of juſtice preſented decrees to be ſanctioned. The king read the gazette; queſtioned each of them about his private affairs, thus teſtifying with no ſmall ſhare of addreſs that ſort of kind concern, of which the great knew how to make a merit; talked like a plain man about affairs in general; and at every turn profeſſed, with an air of frankneſs, his deſire to put the conſtitution in force. For the firſt three weeks, Roland and Claviere appeared almoſt enchanted with the king's excellent diſpoſition of mind, giving him credit on his bare word, and rejoicing, like honeſt men, at the turn that things were about to take. 'Good God!' ſaid I: 'when I ſee you ſet out for the council with all that delightful confidence, it always ſeems to me that you are on the point of committing ſome egregious act of folly.'—I never could bring myſelf to believe in the conſtitutional vocation of a king born and brought up in deſpotiſm, and accuſtomed to exerciſe arbitrary ſway. Lewis XVI muſt have been a man above the common race of mortals, had he been ſincerely the friend of a conſtitution that reſtrained his power; and if ſuch a man, he would never have ſuffered thoſe events to occur which brought about the revolution.

The firſt time Roland appeared at court, the plainneſs of his apparel, his round hat, and his ſhoes tied with ribbands, were matters of aſtoniſhment and offence to all the court valets; to thoſe beings, who, deriving their ſole conſequence from etiquette, believed that the ſafety

of the ſtate depended on its preſervation. The maſter of the ceremonies, ſtepping up to Dumouriez with alarm in his countenance and a contracted brow, pointed out Roland by a glance of the eye: Oh dear! Sir, ſaid he in a whiſper, he has no buckles in his ſhoes!——Oh Lord! Sir, anſwered Dumouriez, with gravity truly laughable, we are all ruined and undone.

A council being held four times a week, the miniſters agreed to dine on thoſe days at one another's houſes by turns; and every Friday I received them as my gueſts. *Degrave* was then miniſter of war. He was a little man, in every ſenſe of the word: nature had made him gentle, and timid; his prejudices prompted him to be haughty, while his heart inſpired him with the deſire of being amiable; and in his perplexity to reconcile theſe jarring affections, he became nothing at all. I think I ſee him now, walking on his heels like a courtier, with his head erect on his ſlender body; turning up his blue eyes, which he could not keep open after dinner without the help of two or three cups of coffee; ſpeaking little, as if out of reſerve, but in reality for want of ideas; and at length ſo bewildered in the labyrinth of his official buſineſs, as to aſk leave to retire. *Lacoſte*, a true jack in office of the old order of things, of which he had the inſignificant and awkward look, cold manner, and dogmatic tone, wanted none of thoſe advantages which a man hackneyed in the routine of public buſineſs ſeldom fails to acquire; but his apparent reſerve and diſcretion concealed a violence of temper, which he carried when contradicted to the moſt ridiculous exceſs. He was beſides, deficient both in the extenſive views, and activity, neceſſary for a miniſter. *Duranthon*, who had been ſent

for

for from Bourdeaux to be made miniſter of juſtice, was an honeſt man, according to common report; but he was very indolent; his manner indicated vanity; and his timid diſpoſition, and pompous prattle, made him always appear to me no better than an old woman. *Clavière*, whoſe coming into office was preceded by a reputation of great ſkill in finance, was, I make no doubt, well informed upon that ſubject, of which I am no judge. Active, induſtrious, of an irritable diſpoſition, obſtinate, as moſt men are who live much in the retirement of the cloſet, and cavilling and uncomplying in debate, he could not do otherwiſe than claſh with Roland, who was dry and peremptory in diſpute, and not leſs ſtiff in opinion than himſelf. Theſe two men were made to eſteem, without loving each other; and they have not belied their deſtiny. *Dumouriez* had more of what is called parts than all of them put together, and leſs *morality* than any one of the number. Diligent, brave, an able general, an artful courtier, writing well, ſpeaking fluently, and capable of great undertakings, he wanted nothing but ſtrength of mind proportioned to his genius, and a cooler head to execute the plans he had conceived. Agreeable in his commerce with his friends, and ready to deceive them all; attentive to women, but by no means calculated to ſucceed with thoſe, whom a tender paſſion might ſeduce; he was made for the miniſterial intrigues of a corrupt and faithleſs court. His brilliant qualities, and love of fame, gave room to hope, that he might be employed with advantage in the army of the republic: and perhaps he would have proceeded in the right path, if the convention had been prudent; for he is too wiſe

not to act like an honeſt man, when his doing ſo is conducive to his intereſt and reputation.

Degrave was ſucceeded by *Servan*, an honeſt man, in the fulleſt ſignification of the term, of an ardent temper and excellent moral character, with all the auſterity of a philoſopher, and all the benevolence of a feeling heart; an enlightened patriot, a brave ſoldier, and an active miniſter, he ſtood in need of nothing, but a more ſober imagination, and a more flexible mind.

The troubles on the ſcore of religion, and the preparations of the enemy, calling for deciſive decrees, the refuſal of ſanctioning them completely tore away the veil from Louis XVI, whoſe ſincerity was already ſtrongly ſuſpected by ſuch of his miniſters as had before been inclined to believe it real. At firſt the refuſal was not poſitive: the king being deſirous of conſidering the ſubject, put off the ſanction till the following council, when he always found reaſons for deferring it ſtill longer. This procraſtination gave his miniſters an opportunity of ſpeaking out. Roland and Servan, in particular, remonſtrated inceſſantly, and ſpoke the moſt ſtriking truths with becoming ſpirit.

Their ſituation became critical: the public weal was in danger: and it was incumbent on miniſters truly patriotic, either to provide the means of its ſalvation, or to retire, that they might not be aſſiſting in its ruin. Roland propoſed to his colleagues a letter to the king purporting as much; but Claviere cavilled at the expreſſions, and Duranthon, who was fond of his place, was unwilling to riſk the loſs of it, if he could poſſibly keep it, without being a confeſt traitor. Lacoſte did not approve

approve of ſtrong meaſures, and the will of the king appeared to him, upon the whole, the beſt of all poſſible rules; while Dumouriez left them to ſettle the matter among themſelves, that he might be more at leiſure to play his own cards, and to revenge what he conſidered as a vexatious affront. The fact was as follows.

That kind of rumour, which does not as yet amount to the opinion of the public, but which foreruns and announces it, was afloat againſt Bonnecarrere, whom Dumouriez had made director-general of the department of foreign affairs. He had the reputation, the talents, the diſpoſition, and the manners of an intriguer: ſo at leaſt I have been told by men of probity, who related various circumſtances of his life, and lamented the choice that Dumouriez had made.

A report was ſpread of ſome place being beſtowed or affair ſettled, by Bonnecarrere, on his receiving a conſideration of a hundred thouſand livres [£4167], part of which was to be given to madam de Beauvert. That lady was Dumouriez's miſtreſs; and lived in his houſe, where ſhe did the honours of the table, to the great diſpleaſure of men of ſenſe, the friends of morality and freedom; for ſuch licentiouſneſs in a ſervant of the public, charged with the conduct of affairs of ſtate, too plainly indicated a contempt of decorum; eſpecially as madam Beauvert, the ſiſter of Rivarol, a man unfortunately but too well known, lived in the midſt of the ſworn friends of ariſtocracy, people little entitled to commendation in any point of view. Dumouriez's conduct, even if it had not been fundamentally wrong, was impolitic, and calculated to excite ſuſpicion.

I was frequently viſited by Briſſot, and ſeveral other

members of the legiſlative aſſembly. They ſometimes met the miniſters at my houſe; and kept up that kind of intimacy with them, which is requiſite among men who, being devoted alike to the cauſe of the public, ſtand in need of an intercommunity of views and information, in order to ſerve it the more effectually. The ſtory of Bonnecarrere was related to one of them; and the parties were mentioned by name, as well as the notary in whoſe hands the money was depoſited, or who was at leaſt appointed to receive it; but theſe particulars have eſcaped my memory. I only recollect, that two men of character came to my houſe and affirmed them in the preſence of three or four members of the legiſlative body, one of whom, a friend of Dumourez, was deſirous of hearing the whole ſtory from their mouths. It was reſolved to repeat to Dumouriez, with a degree of ſolemnity, the arguments that had already been urged to him in private, concerning the neceſſity, both on the public account and his own, of making his conduct, and the choice of his agents, more conformable to the political principles which he pretended to entertain. The converſation conſequently took place in the preſence of his colleagues and of three or four members of the aſſembly. Roland, availing himſelf of the authority given him by his years and character, pointed out to Dumouriez the neceſſity of his conducting himſelf with more propriety and prudence; and every one agreed, that this laſt trait of Bonnecarrere ought to open his eyes, and induce him to put ſome other perſon in his place. Dumouriez, who turned Bonnecarrere's talents to good account, and gave himſelf little concern on the ſcore of morality, treated the obſervations of his friends with great levity, and at length rejected them with

anger. From that moment he discontinued all intercourse with the members, behaved with greater coolness to his colleagues, and, without doubt, no longer thought of any thing, but overturning those by whose gravity he was the most displeased. I foresaw the effect of this conference, and said to Roland: 'if you were an intriguer, and capable of conducting yourself according to the policy of the old court and government, I should tell you, that the moment to ruin Dumouriez is at hand, if you wish to prevent his playing you a trick.' But honest men understand not this petty warfare; and Roland was as incapable of having recourse to it, as he would have been ill-fitted to carry it on.

The postponement of the sanction was nearly become a refusal: the utmost limit of delay was at hand *. We were sensible, as the council was neither sufficiently unanimous nor energetic to speak out in a collective shape, that it became the integrity and courage of Roland to step forward alone; and between us two we determined on his famous letter to the king. He carried it with him to the council, with the intention of reading it aloud, the very day when Louis XVI, on being pressed anew for his sanction, required each of his ministers to give him his opinion written and signed, and proceeded rapidly to discuss other affairs. Roland returned home, added a few introductory lines to his letter, and delivered the whole into the king's hands, on the morning of the 11th of June.

The next day, the 12th, at eight in the evening, Servan

* By the constitution of 1789, the king was allowed to withhold his sanction during a certain number of months, at the end of which his neglecting to give his consent amounted to a refusal. *Transl.*

walked

walked into my room with a ſmiling countenance, 'give me joy', ſaid he, 'I have juſt had the honour of being turned away.'—'That is an honour,' anſwered I, 'that my huſband will ſoon ſhare; and I am not a little mortified that you ſhould get the ſtart of us.' He then related to me, that, having been with the king in the morning on particular buſineſs, he had ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the neceſſity of the camp of twenty thouſand men, if it were ſincerely his intention to oppoſe the deſigns of the enemy; that the king had turned his back upon him in very ill-humour; and that Dumouriez, at the very ſame inſtant, was coming out of the war-office, whither he had been to take his portfolio from him, by virtue of an order, of which he was the bearer.—'Who? Dumouriez? He is acting a vile part; but I am not at all ſurpriſed at it.'—The three preceding days Dumouriez had been frequently at the Tuileries, and had held long conferences with the queen; with whom, it may not be impertinent to remark, that Bonnecarrere had ſome intereſt, by means of her women. Roland, being informed that Servan was in my apartment, quitted the perſons to whom he was giving audience, and on hearing the news, requeſted his colleagues, Dumouriez excepted, to repair to the hotel.

It was his opinion, that they ought not to wait for their diſmiſſion; but that in conſequence of Servan's being declared, it became all thoſe who profeſſed the ſame principles to give in their reſignations; unleſs the king ſhould recall Servan, and diſmiſs Dumouriez, with whom they could no longer ſit at the council-table. Had the four miniſters acted thus, the court, I have no doubt, would have been not a little embarraſſed to replace them; it would have done honour to Lacoſte and Duranthon, and the affair would have had a more ſtriking effect upon the public

public mind: but it was deſtined to have that effect afterwards in a different way.

The miniſters came and debated for a long while, without coming to any reſolution, except that they would meet again the next morning at eight, and that Roland ſhould prepare a letter in the mean time. I could never have believed, had not circumſtances put me in the way of knowing it, that ſoundneſs of judgment, and a firm temper of mind, are things ſo uncommon, and conſequently that ſo few men are fit for the tranſaction of buſineſs, particularly that of the ſtate. Would you wiſh to meet with the above qualities in conjunction with perfect diſintereſtedneſs?—"That were indeed the Arabian bird," ſcarcely ſeen once in a long ſucceſſion of ages. I no longer wonder, that men ſuperior to the herd, and placed at the head of empires, commonly entertain a ſovereign contempt for their ſpecies: it is the almoſt inevitable conſequence of an extenſive knowledge of the world; and to avoid the errors, into which ſuch a ſentiment may lead thoſe to whom the welfare of a nation is entruſted, requires a fund of philoſophy and magnanimity very extraordinary indeed.

The miniſters came at the appointed hour; expreſſed their doubts about the letter; and at length concluded, that it would be better to go to the king, and declare their ſentiments in perſon. This expedient appeared to me no better than an evaſion; for certain it is, that a man never ſpeaks ſo boldly as he may venture to write, to a perſon, who, by virtue of his rank, and the force of cuſtom, lays claim to particular reſpect. It was agreed upon that they ſhould take Lacoſte, who had not yet made his appearance, along with them, or at leaſt that they ſhould invite him to be one of the party. But ſcarcely had

theſe

theſe gentlemen aſſembled at the admiralty-office, when a meſſenger from the king brought Duranthon an order to repair to the palace immediately and alone. Clavière and Roland told him, that they would go and wait for his return at the chancery. They had not been there long before Duranthon made his appearance in ſolemn ſilence, with a long face, and a hypocritical appearance of ſorrow, taking ſlowly out of his pocket an order from the king for each of the other two.—'Give it me,' ſaid Roland, with a ſmile: 'I perceive already that our delays have made us loſe the ſtart.'—In fact he brought their diſmiſſions.

'Well! I am turned out too,' ſaid my huſband on his return.—'I hope,' anſwered I, 'that it is better deſerved on your part, than on that of any one elſe; but you ſhould not by any means allow the king to announce it to the aſſembly: ſince he has not profited by the leſſon given him in your letter, you ought to render that leſſon uſeful to the public, by making it known. Nothing appears to me more conſiſtent with the courage evinced by writing it, than the hardihood of ſending a copy to the aſſembly: on hearing of your diſmiſſion, it will alſo be acquainted with the cauſe.'

This idea could not fail to be agreeable to my huſband. It was adopted; and every body knows the approbation which the aſſembly gave to the letter, by ordering it to be printed and ſent to the departments, as well as the honour they did to the three miniſters by declaring that the regret of the nation attended them in their retreat. In my own mind I am convinced, and I think the event has proved it, that Roland's letter contributed greatly to enlighten the French nation; it exhibited to the king, with ſo much force and wiſdom, what his own

intereſt

intereſt required of him, that it was eaſy to perceive he refuſed his compliance, out of a determined oppoſition to the maintenance of the conſtitution.

When I recollect, that Pache was in Roland's cloſet while we were reading the rough draught of that letter, and that he deemed it an adventurous ſtep; when I reflect how often that man has witneſſed our enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of liberty, and our zeal to ſerve it; and ſee him now at the head of that arbitrary authority, which oppreſſes and perſecutes us as enemies of the republic: I aſk myſelf, whether I be awake, and whether the dream muſt not terminate in the puniſhment of that infamous hypocrite.

Thus did we return to private life. Perhaps I may be aſked, whether I never knew any further particulars concerning the manner, in which Roland was called into adminiſtration. I can ſafely ſay, I never did; and that I never even thought of inquiring about it: for it appeared to me to be brought about like many other things in this world; the idea occurs to ſome one perſon, many approve it, and with this ſupport it attracts the notice of people capable of carrying it into effect. I perceived, that the buſineſs in queſtion had ſtruck ſome of the members; but I know not who it was that firſt propoſed it; nor by whom it was tranſmitted to the court. Roland knew no more of it, and gave himſelf no more concern about it, than I. When a ſucceſſor to Degrave was thought of for the war department, the miniſters and patriotic members did not know whither to direct their views, almoſt all the officers of the army, of any repute, being looked upon as enemies to the conſtitution. Roland at laſt thought of Servan, a military man, who had earned the croſs

croſs of St Lewis by his ſervices; and whoſe principles were not doubtful, ſince he had diſplayed them before the revolution, in a publication, called the Citizen Soldier, which had been well received. We were perſonally acquainted with him, in conſequence of ſeeing him at Lyons, where he enjoyed the well-earnt reputation of an active and ſagacious man: he had beſides, in the year 1790, loſt a place at court, where his civiſm was not agreeable to Monſieur Guynard-St.-Prieſt. Theſe conſiderations induced the members of the council to join in propoſing him to the king, by whom he was accepted.

As ſoon as my huſband was in the miniſtry, I came to a fixed determination, neither to pay nor receive viſits, nor invite any female to my table. I had no great ſacrifices to make on that head: for, not reſiding conſtantly at Paris, my acquaintance was not extenſive; beſides, I had no where kept a great deal of company, becauſe my love of ſtudy is as great as my deteſtation of cards, and becauſe the ſociety of ſilly people affords me no diverſion. Accuſtomed to ſpend my days in domeſtic retirement, I ſhared the labours of Roland, and purſued the ſtudies moſt ſuited to my own particular taſte. The eſtabliſhment of ſo ſevere a rule ſerved then at once to keep up my accuſtomed ſtyle of life, and to prevent the inconveniences which an intereſted crowd throws in the way of people occupying important poſts. Properly ſpeaking, I never received company in my hotel: twice a week, indeed, I gave a dinner to ſome of the miniſters, a few members of the aſſembly, and the perſons with whom my huſband had any thing to talk over, or whoſe acquaintance he wiſhed to preſerve. Buſineſs was talked

of

in my preſence; becauſe I had not the rage of inter-
ring, and was not ſurrounded with ſuch company as
ould excite diſtruſt. Out of all the rooms of a ſpacious
partment, I had choſen, for my daily habitation, the
malleſt parlour, which I had converted into a ſtudy, by
emoving into it my books and a bureau. It often hap-
ened, that Roland's friends or colleagues, when they
anted to ſpeak to him confidentially, inſtead of going to
is apartment, where he was ſurrounded by his clerks
r by the public, would come to mine, and requeſt me to
end for him. By theſe means I found myſelf drawn into
he vortex of public affairs, without intrigue or idle cu-
ioſity. Roland had a pleaſure in afterwards converſ-
ng with me about them in private, with that con-
idence which we ever placed in each other, and which
eſtabliſhed between us an intercommunity of knowledge
nd opinions; and it ſometimes happened alſo, that
friends, who had only ſome information to give, or a
few words to ſay, being always ſure of finding me, came
and requeſted I would make the neceſſary communication
to Roland as ſoon as an opportunity might occur.

It had been found neceſſary to counterbalance the
influence of the court, the ariſtocracy, the civil liſt, and
the miniſterial papers, by information given to the people
in the moſt public way. A daily paper, poſted up in
the ſtreets, ſeemed well calculated for that purpoſe; but
it was neceſſary to find a judicious and enlightened
man, capable of following up events, and exhibiting them
in their proper colours, to be the conductor. *Louvet*, al-
ready known as an author, a man of letters, and a po-
litician, was pointed out, approved of, and undertook the
taſk. Money was alſo wanting for its ſupport; but that

was a thing not quite ſo eaſily to be obtained. Petion himſelf was allowed none for the police; and yet in a town like Paris, and in ſuch a ſtate of things, when it was of importance to have people in pay, in order to gain timely information of every thing that happened, or that might be in agitation, it was indiſpenſably neceſſary. To obtain any thing from the aſſembly would have been difficult; for the demand would infallibly have given the alarm to the partiſans of the court, and would have met with many obſtacles. At laſt it occurred, that Dumouriez, who had ſecret ſervice money for the department of foreign affairs, might allow a certain ſum monthly to the mayor of Paris for the police; and that out of that ſum might be taken the expenſes of the daily paper which was to be poſted up, and which the miniſter of the home-department was to ſuperintend. The expedient was ſimple, and was adopted. Such was the origin of the *Sentinel*.

It was in the courſe of the month of July, that perceiving affairs daily growing worſe through the perfidy of the court, the march of the foreign troops, and the weakneſs of the aſſembly, we looked out for a place where liberty, threatened from ſo many quarters, might find an aſylum. We frequently converſed with Barbaroux and Servan concerning the excellent ſpirit that prevailed in the ſouth, the energy of the departments in that quarter of France, and the advantages its ſituation afforded for founding a republic, if the triumphant court ſhould find means to ſubjugate Paris and the North. We took a map, and traced the line of demarcation; Servan ſtudied the military poſitions it offered; we calculated its ſtrength; we examined the nature of its produce,

and

and the means of circulating that produce; every one called to mind the places, or the perſons, from whom we might expect to receive ſupport; and every one repeated, after a revolution that had afforded ſuch great hopes, we ought not to relapſe tamely into ſlavery, but ſhould ſtrain every nerve to eſtabliſh a free government in ſome part of France. 'That ſhall be our reſource,' ſaid Barbaroux, 'if the *Marſeillois*, whom I accompanied hither, be not ſufficiently ſeconded by the Pariſians to ſubdue the court. I hope, however, they will ſucceed, and that we ſhall have a convention, which will give a republican form of government to all France.'

We underſtood very well, without his explaining himſelf farther, that an inſurrection was projected. It appeared indeed inevitable, ſince the court was making preparations, that indicated a deſign of enforcing ſubmiſſion. It may be ſaid, they were made in its own defence; but the idea of attack either would have occurred to no body, or if it had, it would not have been embraced by the people at large, if the court had really and truly enforced the conſtitution: for, though aware of all its defects, the moſt ſtrenuous republicans deſired nothing more for the preſent, and would have quietly awaited its improvement from the hands of time and of experience.

It is true, at the period of a revolution, there will always be found, particularly among a corrupt people, and in large cities, a claſs of men deſtitute of the advantages of fortune, covetous of her favours, and inclined to make any ſacrifice to obtain them, or elſe accuſtomed to ſupply the want of them by illicit means. If a daring mind, a courageous diſpoſition, and ſome portion

of natural abilities, diſtinguiſh a man of that deſcription, he becomes the chief, or the director, of a turbulent band, whoſe ranks are ſoon filled up by all thoſe who, having nothing to loſe, are ready to attempt any thing; by all the dupes, they have art enough to make; and laſtly, by the individuals diſperſed among them by domeſtic politicians or foreign powers, intereſted in fomenting diviſions, in order to weaken them by civil diſcord, that they may afterwards take advantage of their diſtracted ſtate.

The patriotic ſocieties, theſe collections of men aſſembled to deliberate on their rights and intereſts, have exhibited to us a picture in miniature of what paſſes in the great ſociety of the ſtate.

Firſt we find a few men of ardent diſpoſitions, deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of the public danger, and ſeeking ſincerely to prevent it. Theſe men the philoſophers join becauſe they conceive ſuch a junction neceſſary to overturn tyranny, and propagate principles beneficial to mankind. Accordingly, great principles are developed, and diſſeminated; generous ſentiments are called forth and diffuſed; and a vigorous impulſion is given both to the hearts and minds of men. Then come forward individuals, who, by aſſuming principles that do not belong to them, which they decorate with the moſt captivating language, endeavour to gain the favour of the public, in order to acquire conſequence or power. They paſs the bounds of truth, to render themſelves more remarkable; heat the imagination by falſe and exaggerated repreſentations; flatter the paſſions of the populace, ever diſpoſed to admire the gigantic; urge it on to meaſures, in which they have the means of making themſelves uſeful, in order to be thought neceſſary upon all occaſions;

ſions; and employ themſelves in the foul work of throwing ſuſpicion upon thoſe prudent or enlightened men, of whoſe merit they are afraid, and with whom they are not able to ſtand in competition. Calumny, at firſt employed without art, learns, from the humiliation it receives, to ſhape itſelf into a ſyſtem; and at length becomes a profound ſcience, in which they and their fellows alone can ſucceed.

Unqueſtionably many people of this character joined the popular party againſt the court; ready to ſerve the latter for money, and as ready to betray it, in caſe it ſhould become the weaker party. The court affected to believe that all thoſe who oppoſed its deſigns were of the above deſcription, and was fond of confounding them under the appellation of the factious. The real patriots ſuffered this noiſy pack to go their own way, like ſo many hounds; and perhaps were not ſorry to make them ſerve as a forlorn hope, to receive the firſt fire of the enemy. In their hatred of deſpotiſm they did not recollect, that, if it be allowable in politics, to ſuffer good things to be effected by bad men, or to profit by their exceſſes for ſome uſeful purpoſe, it is infinitely dangerous to aſcribe to them the honour of the one, or not to puniſh them for the other.

Every body is acquainted with the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, of which I know no more than is known to the public; for, though well informed of the great outline of affairs while Roland was a ſervant of the public, and attending to it with intereſt when he was no longer in place, I never was a confidant of what may be called the manœuvring of parties; nor was he himſelf ever concerned in that ſort of buſineſs.

Recalled to the miniſtry at that period, he re-entered it

with renovated hopes. It is a great pity, we uſed to ſay, that the council ſhould be contaminated by that *Danton*, who has ſo bad a reputation.—'What can we do?' ſaid ſome friends, to whom I whiſpered the ſame remark; 'he has been uſeful in the revolution, and the people love him: there is no prudence in making malcontents: it will certainly be better to make the moſt of him as he is.'—There was ſome reaſon in this; but ſtill it is much eaſier to deny a man the means of influence, than to prevent his putting it to a bad uſe. There began the faults of the patriots: the inſtant the court was ſubdued, an excellent council ſhould have been formed, all the members of which being irreproachable in their conduct, and diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge, would have conducted the government with dignity, and have impreſſed foreign powers with reſpect. To take Danton into the adminiſtration, was to deluge the government with ſuch men as I have deſcribed; who haraſs it, when not in employ, and corrupt and debaſe it, when they participate in its operations. But who was to make theſe reflections? who could have dared to announce and openly maintain them? The choice was made by the aſſembly, or its committee of twenty-one; among whom there were many men of merit, but not one leader; not one of thoſe beings caſt in the mould of *Mirabeau*, and made to command the vulgar, to condenſe into one focus the opinions of the wiſe, and to preſent them with that force of genius, which compels obedience the moment it appears.

As they were at a loſs for a miniſter of the marine, Condorcet mentioned Monge, becauſe he had ſeen him ſolve geometrical problems at the academy of ſciences; and

and Monge was choſen. Monge is a kind of original, admirably calculated to play tricks in the manner of the bears that I have ſeen dancing in the ditches of the town of Berne. There cannot be a more awkward buffoon, or one who has leſs pretenſions to wit and pleaſantry. Formerly a ſtone-cutter at Mézières, where the abbe Boſſut encouraged him, and ſet him to ſtudy mathematics; he got on by dint of induſtry, and ceaſed to viſit his benefactor, as ſoon as he began to entertain hopes of becoming his equal. A good kind of man in other reſpects, or at leaſt contriving to be ſo eſteemed, in a ſmall circle, of which the moſt ſatirical members had not wit enough to divert themſelves by ſhewing that he was no better than a narrow-minded blockhead. But in ſhort he paſſed for an honeſt man, and a friend of the revolution; and people were ſo tired of traitors, and ſo puzzled to find men of ability, that they began to put up with any body of whoſe good faith they were convinced. I need not ſpeak of his miniſtry: the deplorable ſtate of our navy too plainly evinces his imbecility and inſignificance.

Roland's firſt care was to make that reform in his office, of which he had felt the neceſſity. He collected about him a ſet of men attached to the principles of liberty, of active diſpoſitions, and of enlightened minds: and, had he accompliſhed nothing more, he would have done great ſervice to that branch of adminiſtration. He haſtened to write to all the departments, with that force which reaſon gives, that authority which belongs to truth, and that expreſſion of ſentiment that flows from the heart; ſhewing them the new order of things that muſt neceſſarily reſult from the revolution of the 10th

of Auguſt; and the neceſſity for all parties to rally around juſtice, which prevents exceſſes; around liberty, which produces the happineſs of all; around good order, which alone can inſure it; and around the legiſlative body, which ſtands charged with the expreſſion of the public will. Thoſe adminiſtrative bodies which appeared to heſitate, were ſuſpended, or caſhiered. Great diſpatch in buſineſs, and the moſt active and extenſive correſpondence, diffuſed a ſimilar ſpirit through every part, reſtored confidence, and gave freſh life to the interior of the kingdom.

Danton ſcarcely ſuffered a day to paſs without coming to our houſe. Sometimes it was in his way to the council; he would arrive a little before the hour, and ſtep into my apartment; or elſe he would call in his return, moſt commonly accompanied by Fabre-d'Eglantine: at other times, he would invite himſelf to dine with me, on days when I was not accuſtomed to ſee company, in order that he might converſe with Roland about ſome buſineſs.

No man could make a ſhow of greater zeal, of a greater love of liberty, or of a greater deſire to concur with his colleagues in ſerving it effectually. I contemplated his forbidding and atrocious features, and, though I uſed to ſay to myſelf, that no one ſhould be condemned upon hearſay evidence, that I had no certain knowledge of any thing to his prejudice, that the honeſteſt man in the world muſt needs have two different characters when party-ſpirit ran high, and that appearances were not to be truſted, I could not bring myſelf to aſſociate the idea of a good man with ſuch a countenance. I never ſaw any thing that ſo ſtrongly expreſſed the violence of brutal paſſions,

paſſions, and the moſt aſtoniſhing audacity, half diſguiſed by a jovial air, an affectation of frankneſs, and a ſort of ſimplicity. My lively imagination repreſents every perſon, with whom I am ſtruck, in the action that I conceive ſuitable to his character. I cannot ſee for half an hour a face not from the common mould, without arraying it in the garb of ſome profeſſion, or giving it ſome part to play, the idea of which it revives or impreſſes on my mind. In this manner my imagination has often figured Danton, with a dagger in his hand, encouraging by his voice and his example a band of aſſaſſins, more timid or leſs ferocious than himſelf: or elſe, when ſatiated with his crimes, indicating his habits and propenſities by the geſtures of a Sardanapalus. I certainly would defy an experienced painter, not to find in the perſon of Danton all the requiſites for ſuch a compoſition.

Could I have confined myſelf to a regular path, inſtead of abandoning my pen to the wandering courſe of a mind, that ranges at large over the wide field of events, I would have taken up Danton at the beginning of 1789, a miſerable counſellor, more burdened with debts than cauſes; and whoſe wife was known to ſay, that ſhe could not have kept houſe, without the aſſiſtance of a louis-d'or a week which ſhe received from her father. I would have exhibited him making his firſt appearance at the *ſection*, which was then called a *diſtrict*, and attracting notice by the ſtrength of his lungs: a great ſectary of the Orleans faction; acquiring a kind of competency in the courſe of that year, without any viſible means of making money; and obtaining a little celebrity by exceſſes, which Lafayette was inclined to puniſh, but which he artfully found means to turn to his own advantage, by procuring himſelf the protection of the diſtrict, which he had rendered turbulent.

turbulent. I ſhould deſcribe him declaiming with ſucceſs in the popular ſocieties, ſetting himſelf up for the defender of the rights of all, declaring, that he would accept no place of profit, till the revolution ſhould be at an end; and ſucceeding nevertheleſs to that of ſubſtitute to the ſolicitor of the commune; preparing his influence at the Jacobins upon the ruins of that of the Lameths; making his appearance on the tenth of Auguſt among thoſe who were returning from the palace *; and entering into the adminiſtration, as a tribune in high favour with the people, whom it was neceſſary to ſatisfy by giving him a ſhare in the government. From that period his progreſs was equally bold and rapid. He attached to himſelf by largeſſes, or protected by his influence, thoſe greedy and miſerable men, who are goaded on by vice and want; he marked out the formidable perſons whoſe ruin it was neceſſary to effect; he paid the hireling ſcribes, and inflamed the minds of the enthuſiaſts, whom he intended to ſet upon them; he refined on the *revolutionary* inventions of headlong patriots, or artful knaves; he deviſed, promoted, and executed plans capable of ſtriking terror, of removing numerous obſtacles, of collecting great ſums of money, and of miſleading the public opinions concerning all theſe matters. He formed the electoral body by his intrigues, influenced it openly by means of his agents, and nominated the deputation from Paris to the convention, of which he became a member. He went to Belgium to augment his treaſures; and had the hardihood to avow a fortune of 1400000 livres [£.58333], to wallow in luxury, whilſt preaching up *ſans-culotitiſme*, and to ſleep on heaps of ſlaughtered men.

* See Louvet's Narrative, p. 17. *Tranſ.*

As

As to Fabre d'Eglantine, muffled in a cowl, armed with a poniard, and employed in forging plots to defame the innocent, or to ruin the rich, whoſe wealth he covets, he is ſo perfectly in character, that whoever would paint the moſt abandoned hypocrite, need only draw his portrait in that dreſs.

Theſe two men were very deſirous of making me ſpeak out, by vaunting their own patriotiſm. It was a ſubject on which I had nothing to conceal, or diſſemble: I avow my principles equally to thoſe, whom I ſuppoſe to participate in them, and to thoſe, whom I ſuſpect of not entertaining ſentiments ſo pure: in regard to the former it is confidence—to the latter pride. I diſdain to diſguiſe myſelf, even under the pretence, or with the hope of being better able to fathom other people's mind. I form a firſt opinion of men intuitively, and judge them afterwards by their conduct compared at different times with the language they hold; but as to me, I lay open my whole ſoul, and never ſuffer a doubt to exiſt of what I really am.

As ſoon as the aſſembly had of its own accord paſſed a decree, allowing the miniſter of the home department 100,000 livres [£.4,167], to defray the expences of uſeful publications, Danton, and Fabre more particularly, aſked me by way of converſation, whether Roland were prepared on that point, and if he had writers in readineſs to employ. I anſwered, that he was no ſtranger to thoſe who had already attained any celebrity; that the periodical works, compoſed according to right principles, would point out in the firſt place thoſe whom it was proper to encourage; that it would be adviſeable to ſee their authors; and ſometimes to bring them together, that they might

might be informed of facts, the knowledge of which it would be uſeful to diffuſe, and that they might agree on the moſt efficacious method of leading men's minds to the ſame point. That if either of them, Fabre or Danton, knew any in particular, they ſhould mention and bring them to the miniſter; where they might converſe, once a week for inſtance, on what in exiſting circumſtances ought more eſpecially to occupy their pens.

'We have the idea,' anſwered Fabre, 'of a paper to be poſted up, entitled *Compte rendu au Peuple ſouverain**, which ſhall exhibit a ſketch of the late revolution, and for which Camille-Deſmoulins, Robert, and ſome others, will write.'—'Very well! introduce them to Roland.'—This he took care not to do, and ſaid no more about the paper; which was however ſet on foot, as ſoon as the aſſembly had given the council two millions [£. 83,333] for *ſecret expenſes*. Danton told his colleagues, that it was proper for each miniſter to make uſe of it in his own department; but that as thoſe of the war department and foreign affairs had already ſimilar funds, the above ſum ought to be at the diſpoſal of the other four, who would conſequently have ſo many hundred thouſands of livres each. Roland objected ſtrongly to this propoſal. He ſhowed, that the intention of the aſſembly had been, to give the executive power, at this critical period, all the neceſſary means of acting with promptitude; that it was the council collectively that had a right to decide on the employment of the monies, on the demand being made, and the purpoſes ſpecified, by the head of each department: and he declared, moreover, that, for his own part, he

* An account rendered to the ſovereign people.

would

would never make any uſe of it, without producing vouchers to the council, to whoſe care the money was committed, and who had a right to watch over its expenditure *. Danton in reply, ſwore according to cuſtom, and talked of the revolution, of deciſive meaſures, of ſecrecy, and of freedom; while the others, ſeduced perhaps by the pleaſure of *dabbling* each in his own way came over to his opinion, contrary to all juſtice, delicacy, and ſound policy; and in ſpite of Roland's proteſt, and of his determined oppoſition, the harſhneſs of which procured him ill-will. Danton quickly drew a hundred thouſand crowns [£. 20,833] out of the public treaſury, and diſpoſed of them as he thought proper: which did not prevent his getting 60,000l. [£. 2,500] from Servan, and a ſtill larger ſum from Lebrun, out of the ſecret ſervice money of their ſeveral departments, under various pretences. To the aſſembly he never gave any account; contenting himſelf with affirming, that he had accounted to the council: though he only told the council, at a meeting at which Roland was not preſent on account of indiſpoſition, that he had given twenty thouſand livres to one perſon, ten to another, and ſo of the reſt, on account of the revolution, for their patriotiſm, or for reaſons of a ſimilar kind.

This is the way in which Servan related the ſtory to me. The council, on being deſired by the aſſembly to ſay, whether Danton had given them any account, anſwered ſimply *yes*. But Danton had acquired ſo much

* He expended of this fund only 1200l. [£. 50], in an order payable to Hell, formerly member of the conſtituent aſſembly, for the expenſe of a body of inſtruction for the people, in the german language, for the departments of the Rhine.

power,

power, that these timid men were afraid of giving him offence.

Immediately after the brave Servan went out of office, Danton, no longer finding any opposition from the war-office, polluted the army with cordeliers *, as cowardly as they were avaricious, who promoted plunder and devastation; rendered the soldiers as ferocious to their countrymen as to their enemies; made the revolution odious to the neighbouring nations, by excesses of all kinds, which they practised in the name of the republic; and by preaching insubordination in every quarter, laid the foundation of the misfortunes that have since attended our arms.

After this no one will be astonished to hear, that Danton, wanting to send one of his creatures into Brittany, under pretence of visiting the sea-ports and examining the inspectors, prevailed on the minister of the marine to give him a commission. But commissions of this kind required the signature of all the members of the council, and Roland refused his. 'Either,' said he to Monge, 'your agents do their duty, or they do not; and of this you are competent to judge. If they do not, dismiss them without mercy: if they do, why damp their zeal and insult them, by sending a stranger among them, who has no connexion with your department, and would only prove your distrust. Such a proceeding by no means becomes the character of a minister; nor will I sign the commission.' The sitting of the council was unusually protracted, and towards the end of it the papers to be signed presented themselves in rapid succession.

* A faction which took its name from a particular club, that far outwent the Jacobins in revolutionary rage. *Transl.*

Roland perceiving, that he had juſt put his name, after thoſe of all his colleagues, to the rejected commiſſion, which had been ſlipt into his hand, cancelled it, and upbraided Monge. 'It is Danton who will have it ſo,' anſwered Monge in a whiſper, and with fear pictured in his countenance: if I refuſe, he will denounce me to the commune, and to the cordeliers, and get me hanged.'—'Well! in my mind, a miniſter ought to die, rather than give way to ſuch conſiderations.'

The bearer of this commiſſion was arreſted in Brittany, by order of an adminiſtration which took offence at his conduct, and to which the cancelled ſignature of Roland appeared a ſufficient reaſon to enter into a cloſe examination of his conduct. Heavy charges were preferred againſt him; but it was at the end of the year, when the cauſe of all anarchiſts was eſpouſed by the mountain, which obtained a decree, directing that Guermeur ſhould be ſet at large.

I have ſuffered myſelf to be hurried away by circumſtances; let me now reſume the chain of facts.

Danton and Fabre ceaſed to viſit me towards the latter end of Auguſt. No doubt they were cautious of expoſing themſelves to attentive eyes, while chanting the matins of September; and were well aware of the nature of Roland and the people he had about him. His firm temper of mind, his upright and ingenuous diſpoſition, the ſtrictneſs of his principles, diſplayed without oſtentation, and yet without conſtraint, and the uniform tenor of his conduct, are ſure to ſtrike every eye at the firſt glance. They concluded, that Roland was an honeſt man, who was not to be tampered with in undertakings like their's: that his wife had no weak ſide,

through

through which he might be aſſailed; and that, with an equal ſhare of principle, ſhe poſſeſſed perhaps more of that penetration peculiar to her ſex, againſt which deceitful people have the moſt reaſon to be upon their guard. Perhaps too they judged, that ſhe could ſometimes wield a pen; and that ſuch a couple, endowed as they were with the faculty of reaſoning, a firm temper of mind, and ſome portion of talents, might ſtand in the way of their deſigns, and were fit only to be ruined. The events that enſued, illuſtrated by a number of circumſtances, which it would be difficult for me to detail at preſent, but of which a lively impreſſion remains upon my mind, give to theſe conjectures all the evidence of demonſtration.

It had been deemed expedient, as one of the firſt meaſures to be taken by the council, to diſpatch commiſſioners to the departments, for the expreſs purpoſe of explaining the events of the 10th of Auguſt, and ſtill more for that of inducing the people to prepare for defence, and to be expeditious in raiſing the neceſſary recruits for the armies oppoſed to the enemy upon the frontier of France. As ſoon as the ſelection of proper perſons, and the ſending them upon their miſſion began to be agitated, Roland deſired a day's delay to conſider whom he ſhould propoſe.—'I will take it all upon myſelf,' exclaimed Danton: 'the commune of Paris will furniſh us with excellent patriots.'—The indolent majority of the council accordingly intruſted him with the care of pointing them out: and the next day he came to the council with commiſſions ready made out, ſo that nothing more was neceſſary than to fill them up with the names he recommended, and to affix the neceſſary ſignatures. The council made

little

little inquiry about them, and ſigned the commiſſions without going into any debate. Thus did a ſwarm of men ſcarcely known; intriguers of ſections, or bawlers at clubs; patriots from fanaticiſm, and ſtill more from views of intereſt; people deſtitute for the moſt part of all kind of conſequence, except what they had aſſumed, or hoped to acquire, in public commotions; but entirely devoted to Danton their protector, and enamoured of his manners and licentious doctrines; thus did theſe men, I ſay, become the repreſentatives of the executive council in every department of France.

This buſineſs always appeared to me a great ſtroke of policy on the part of Danton, and a moſt egregious blunder on that of the council.

A man muſt figure to himſelf the perplexity of each miniſter in the midſt of affairs of his own department, in thoſe turbulent times, to be able to conceive that upright and able men could act with ſo much inconſideration. The fact is, that the miniſters of the home department, of war, and even of the marine, were overwhelmed with an exceſs of buſineſs, and that official details ſo completely engroſſed their thoughts as to allow them no time to reflect on the general ſyſtem of politics. The council ought to be compoſed of men employed ſolely in deliberating, and freed from all the cares of adminiſtration. Danton was in the department that gives the leaſt trouble; and cared little about fulfilling the duties of his place: he gave his *griffe* * to his clerks, who turned the wheel, and the machine went on its own way without his taking any concern in the matter. All his

* An iron ſtamp uſed in France by people in office to repeat their ſignature with greater diſpatch. *Tranſ.*

time and attention were dedicated to intrigues, and ſchemes, tending to promote his views of aggrandizement, fortune, and power. Continually haunting the offices of the war department, he procured appointments in the army for people of his own deſcription; and found means to give them an intereſt in the contracts and purchaſes made on the public account. In ſhort, he neglected no line in which it was poſſible to promote theſe men, the dregs of a corrupted nation, of which they become the ſcum in political fermentations, and over which they domineer for a ſhort ſpace of time: with theſe he augmented his credit, and compoſed a faction, that ſoon became powerful, and are now lords paramount of all.

The enemy advanced, and made an alarming progreſs on our territory. Men, who deſire to govern the multitude, and who have ſtudied the various means of working upon their minds, know terror to be one of the moſt powerful. This affection abſolutely ſubjects thoſe who experience it, to the men who allow it to hold no dominion over their minds; how much greater ſtill are the advantages of thoſe, who purpoſely inſpire it by falſe rumours or pretences! That calculation had certainly been made by the inſtigators of the maſſacres of September; they muſt have had the two-fold object of producing a tumult, under cover of which, the violation of the priſons, and the murder of the priſoners, would afford them an opportunity of gratifying their private animoſities, of executing ſchemes of plunder, the produce of which held out a pleaſing proſpect to their avarice; and at the ſame time of diffuſing that kind of ſtupor, during which a ſmall number of bold and ambitious men might lay the foundations

dations of their power. Inferior agents were eaſily brought over by the lure of profit: the pretence of immolating ſuppoſed traitors, from whom conſpiracies were to be feared, could not fail to delude men of weak underſtandings, deceive the people, and ſerve to juſtify an action from which its directors would derive the blind obedience of their well paid ſatellites, the attachment of all who ſhared the profits with the leaders, and the ſubmiſſion of an intimidated people, ſurpriſed at the energy, or perſuaded of the juſtice of an operation, which the perpetrators would find means to make it abet, by repreſenting it as its own work. Accordingly whoever afterwards dared to reprobate thoſe crimes was proclaimed a *calumniator* of the city of Paris, pointed out as ſuch to the fury of a certain claſs of its inhabitants, and ſtyled a *federaliſt*, and a *conſpirator*. Such was the crime of the *twenty-two*, joined to the unpardonable guilt of ſuperiority.

A loud and alarming report of the taking of Verdun got abroad on the firſt of September. The orators accuſtomed to harangue the groups collected in the ſtreets, ſaid that the enemy was in full march to Châlons: according to them three days more were ſufficient to bring them to Paris; and the people, who calculated nothing but the diſtance, without taking into the account the various things neceſſary to the march of an army, for its ſuſtenance, and the conveyance of its baggage and artillery, every thing, in ſhort, that renders its progreſs ſo very different from that of an individual, already beheld the foreign troops triumphant amid the ſmoaking ruins of the capital.

Nothing was neglected, that could inflame the imagination, amplify objects, or augment the apprehenſion of

danger; nor was it difficult to get the aſſembly to adopt meaſures calculated to promote ſuch deſigns. Domiciliary viſits, under the pretence of ſearching for concealed arms or diſcovering ſuſpected perſons, ſo frequent ſince the 10th of Auguſt, were reſolved upon as a general regulation, and made in the dead of night. They gave occaſion to freſh and numerous captions, and to vexations unheard of before. The commune of the tenth, compoſed in great part of men, who, having nothing to loſe, have every thing to gain by a revolution; the commune already guilty of a thouſand enormities, ſtood in need of more; for it is by the accumulation of crimes that impunity is ſecured. The misfortunes of the country were ſolemnly announced. The ſignal of diſtreſs, the black flag, was hoiſted on the towers of the metropolitan church. The alarm-gun was fired. The commune proclaimed, by ſound of trumpet, a general aſſembly of the citizens, on Sunday, the 2d, in the *Champ-de-Mars*, in order to rally round the altar of the nation thoſe zealous patriots who would immediately ſet off for its defence. At the ſame time it directed the barriers to be ſhut, and yet no one was ſtruck with theſe contradictory proceedings. There was a rumour of a plot hatching in the priſons by the ariſtocrats (or the rich), of whom great numbers were confined; and of the uneaſy and repugnant feelings of the people at quitting their homes, and leaving behind them thoſe ravenous wolves, who were about to break their chains, and would fall with fury upon their dear and defenceleſs relatives.

On the firſt ſymptoms of commotion, the miniſter of the interior, whoſe buſineſs it is to watch over the general tranquillity, but who has neither the immediate exerciſe of power, nor a right to employ the

public force, wrote in an urgent manner to the commune, through the medium of the mayor, pointing out the vigilance that it became them to diſplay. Nor did he content himſelf with this ſtep; but applied alſo to the commandant-general, exhorting him to ſtrengthen the poſts, and keep an eye on the priſons. He did ſtill more; for hearing they were threatened, he called upon him in the moſt formal manner, to keep a ſtrict guard over them, making his head reſponſible for events: and to give more efficacy to a requiſition, to which his authority was confined, he had it printed and poſted up at the corner of every ſtreet. That was hinting to the citizens at large, to be watchful themſelves, in caſe the commandant ſhould neglect his duty.

At five in the evening of Sunday, nearly at the very moment when the priſons were inveſted, as I have ſince been informed, about two hundred men repaired to the hotel of the home department, calling loudly for the miniſter, and for arms.

I was ſitting in my own apartment, and as I thought I heard a noiſe, I roſe, and perceiving the mob from the rooms that overlook the court, ſtepped into the anti-chamber, and inquired what was the matter. Roland was gone out; but the perſons who aſked for him not being ſatisfied with that information, inſiſted upon ſpeaking with him at any rate. The ſervants refuſed to let them come up, and told them over and over again the real ſtate of the caſe. Perceiving thoſe aſſurances ineffectual, I ſent out a domeſtic, to invite ten of them in my name to walk up ſtairs; they came in, and I aſked them calmly what they wanted. They told me, they were honeſt citizens, ready to ſet off for Verdun, but being in great want of

arms, they were come to aſk the miniſter for a ſupply, and were reſolved to ſee him. I obſerved to them, that the miniſter of the interior never had arms at his diſpoſal; and that it was at the war-office, to the miniſter of that department, they ſhould addreſs their requeſt. They ſaid in reply, that they had been there, and had been told there was no ſuch thing; that all the miniſters were raſcally traitors, and that they wanted Roland.—'I am ſorry he is gone out, for his ſolid arguments would have ſome weight with you: come along with me, and ſearch the hotel, and you will ſoon be ſatisfied that Roland is not at home, and that there are no arms here; nor indeed ought there to be any, as upon reflection you muſt needs ſuppoſe. Return to the war-office, or make your complaint to the commune: and if you wiſh Roland to ſpeak to you, repair to the hotel of the marine, where all the council is aſſembled.' —On their withdrawing, I went into the balcony over the court, and thence beheld a furious fellow in his ſhirt, with his ſleeves tucked up to his ſhoulders, and a broad-ſword in his hand, declaiming againſt the treachery of the miniſters. The ten deputies diſperſed themſelves among the crowd, and at length prevailed on it to retreat by beat of drum; but they carried the valet-de-chambre away with them as an hoſtage, made him follow them through the ſtreets for an hour, and then let him return.

Immediately after I got into a coach, and haſtened to the admiralty, to inform my huſband of what had juſt paſſed. The council was not yet ſitting; but I found a numerous circle, in which were ſeveral members of the aſſembly. The miniſters at war and of juſtice not being arrived,

rrived, the others were converſing in the council cham-
er like a private party. I related my ſtory, on which
ach made his remark, moſt of them ſuppoſing it the
ortuitous reſult of circumſtances, and the efferve-
ence of the public mind.

What was Danton doing all that time?—I knew not
ll ſeveral days after; but it is worth while to mention
here, in order that facts may be compared. He was
t the *mairie* *, in the committee of vigilance, as it was
yled, whence iſſued the orders of arreſt that were be-
ome ſo numerous within the laſt few days. There a
econciliation had juſt taken place between him and
Marat, after they had made a parade of a feigned quarrel
or four-and-twenty hours. He went up to Pétion's
partment, took him aſide, and ſaid to him, in his cuſ-
omary language, interlarded with energetic expreſſions:
'Can you gueſs what they have taken into their heads?
Why, may I die, if they have not iſſued a warrant againſt
Roland?'—'Who do you mean?'—'Why, that mad-
eaded committee, to be ſure. I have the warrant
n my poſſeſſion: look, here it is. We can never ſuffer
hem to go on at this rate. What, the devil! againſt a
member of the council!'—Pétion took the warrant, read
t, and returned it to him with a ſmile: 'Let them pro-
ceed,' ſaid he: 'it will have a good effect.'—'A good
effect!' replied Danton, examining the mayor's counte-
nance with an earneſt eye. 'Oh! no, I can never ſuffer
t: I'll find means to make them liſten to reaſon.'—And
ſo he did; for the warrant was never carried into execu-
tion. But who ſo blind, as not to ſee, that the two

* The reſidence of the mayor.

hundred men were ſent to the miniſter of the home department by the deviſers of the warrant? Who ſo dull, as not to ſuſpect, that the failure of their attempt, by delaying the execution of the project, might give time to pauſe to thoſe by whom it was conceived? And who ſo wanting in penetration as not to perceive, in Danton's conduct with the mayor, that of a conſpirator endeavouring to diſcover what effect ſuch a blow would produce, or to aſcribe the honour of having parried it to himſelf when once it has failed, or been rendered dubious, by involuntary delay.

It was paſt eleven, when the miniſters left the council; nor was it till the next morning that we learnt the horrors, of which the night had been witneſs, and which ſtill continued to prevail in the priſons. Diſtreſſed beyond meaſure at theſe abominable crimes, the inability of preventing them, and the evident participation of the commune and the commandant general *, we agreed that there

* Grandpré, who by his office is bound to give an account of the ſtate of the priſons to the miniſter of the home department, had found their ſad inmates in the greateſt affright, in the morning of the 2d of September. He had taken various meaſures to procure the liberation of many of them, and had ſucceeded with reſpect to a conſiderable number; but the rumours that prevailed, kept thoſe who remained in the greateſt conſternation. That worthy citizen, on his return to the hotel, waited for the miniſters at the breaking up of the council. Danton firſt made his appearance. He went up to him, told him what he had ſeen, related the ſteps he had taken, the requiſitions made to the armed force by the miniſter of the home department, the little regard apparently paid them, the alarms of the priſoners, and the care which he, as miniſter of juſtice, ought to take on their account. Danton, vexed at this unlucky repreſentation, cried out in his bellowing voice, and appropriate geſtures: 'I don't care a d——n for the priſoners: let them take care of themſelves!' and walked away in a rage.

ere remained nothing for an honeſt miniſter to do, but denounce them in the moſt public manner, to engage e aſſembly to put a ſtop to them, to rouſe the indigna-on of all honeſt men, to do away in this manner the iſhonour of conſenting to them by ſilence, and to ex-oſe himſelf, if need be, to the daggers of the aſſaſſins, in rder to avoid the guilt and ſhame of being in any way their ccomplice.—'It is equally true,' ſaid I to my huſband, that a courageous determination is not more conſonant o juſtice, than conducive to ſafety. Firmneſs alone can repreſs audacity. If the denunciation of theſe enor-mities were not a duty, it would be an act of prudence. The people who perpetrate them muſt neceſſarily hate you, for you have endeavoured to obſtruct their pro-ceedings: nothing remains for you now, but to inſpire them with fear.'—Roland wrote to the aſſembly his let-ter of the third of September, which became equally ce-lebrated with that he had addreſſed to the king. The

rage. That was in the ſecond anti-chamber, in the preſence of twenty people, who ſhuddered at hearing ſuch a ſavage ſpeech from the miniſter of juſtice. Danton enjoys the fruits of his crimes, after having attained ſucceſſively the ſeveral degrees of influence; and per-ſecuted and proſcribed that probity, which declared war againſt him, and that merit, of which he dreaded the aſcendency: Danton is be-come our maſter. His voice governs the aſſembly; his intrigues keep the people in motion; and his genius rules the committee, falſely denominated the committee of public ſafety, in which all the power of the government reſides. Thus diſorder every where pre-vails: the men of blood bear ſway; the moſt rigid tyranny oppreſſes the people of Paris; and France, torn to pieces, and degraded, under ſuch a maſter, can no longer change its oppreſſors. I feel his hand rivet the fetters that bind me, as I perceived his inſpiration in the firſt attack made upon me by Marat. It is incumbent upon him to ruin thoſe who know him, and reſemble him not.

aſſembly

assembly were delighted, and ordered it to be printed, posted up, and sent to the departments: it applauded, as weak men applaud acts of courage they cannot imitate, but which affect their feelings, and inspire them with hope.

I remember to have read a little work, strongly aristocratic, published since that era at London, I believe by Pelltier: the author is greatly astonished, that the same person, who had been so audaciously wanting in respect to his king, should afterwards display so much justice and humanity. Either the spirit of party must render a man extremely inconsistent, or virtue is so scarce, that its very existence is become questionable. The friend of freedom and his fellow-creatures holds in the same thorough detestation, and denounces with equal energy, the tyranny of a mob, and the tyranny of a king, the despotism of a throne, and the disorders of anarchy, the wiles of a court, and the ferocity of a lawless banditti.

That same day, the 3d of September, a man, formerly a colleague of Roland, and to whom I had imagined I owed the civility of inviting him to dinner, took it into his head to bring with him the *orator of the human race*, without giving me any notice, or enquiring whether it would be agreeable. I considered his behaviour as attributable to the want of breeding of an honest man, imposed upon by the noisy fame of the orator. I gave a polite reception to *Clootz*, of whom I knew nothing but his bombast orations, and of whom I had heard nothing else unfavourable; but one of my friends on seeing him, whispered in my ear: 'Your guest has introduced to you an insufferable parasite, whom I am sorry to see here.'

The

The converſation turned on the events of the day. Clootz attempted to prove, that they were indiſpenſable and ſalutary meaſures; made many common-place obſervations on the rights of the people, the juſtice of their vengeance, and its ſubſerviency to the happineſs of mankind; ſpoke loud, and long; ate ſtill more than he ſpoke; and tired more than one of his auditors. Being ſoon after choſen a member of the convention, he returned occaſionally of his own accord; ſeating himſelf in the firſt place, and helping himſelf to the niceſt diſhes, without ceremony. My extreme and cold politeneſs, accompanied with the care of always helping ſeveral perſons before him, was calculated to make him ſpeedily perceive, that he had been "weighed in the ſcale, and found wanting." He felt it, came no more, and revenged himſelf by calumnies. I ſhould not have mentioned this contemptible fellow, but for the diſtinguiſhed part he acted amongſt the ſlanderers of better men, and the art with which he contrived to make *federaliſm* a ſcarecrow for fools, and to ſet it up as a title of proſcription againſt men of underſtanding, who refuſed to adopt his chimera of an univerſal commonwealth.

The laſt time he came to viſit me he mounted his hobby-horſe, and rehearſed all his extravangancies concerning the poſſibility of a convention formed of deputies from every corner of the world. Some of the company anſwered him with a jeſt, while Roland, tired of the noiſe and pedantry, with which Clootz maintained his opinion, and attempted to make converts to it, had the goodneſs to aſſail him with a ſyllogiſm or two, and then turned away to another part of the room. The converſation cooled, and branched out into a variety of ſubjects.

Buzot,

Buzot, whoſe ſolid underſtanding never amuſes itſelf long with attacking caſtles in the air, was aſtoniſhed, that federaliſm ſhould be treated as a hereſy in politics. He obſerved, that Greece, ſo celebrated and ſo prolific of great men and heroic actions, was compoſed of ſmall confederate republics: that the United States, which in our own days exhibit the moſt intereſting picture of a good ſocial organization, are a compoſition of the ſame nature: and that Switzerland afforded a ſimilar example. That at the preſent moment indeed, and in the actual ſituation of France, it was important for it to preſerve its unity; becauſe in this way it preſented a more formidable maſs to foreign powers, and a ſingleneſs of action which it was highly expedient to keep up for the completion of thoſe laws, on which it depended for a conſtitution: that it could not however be denied, there would ever be a laxity in political bands, uniting a Fleming and a native of Provence; that it was difficult to diffuſe that attachment, in which the ſtrength of a republic conſiſts, over a ſurface ſo extenſive; becauſe the love of our country is not ſtrictly that of the land we inhabit, but of the citizens with whom we live, and the laws by which they are governed, without which the Athenians would never have transferred their exiſtence from their city to their ſhips; that we can never thoroughly love any but thoſe whom we know; and that the enthuſiaſm of men ſeparated by a diſtance of ſix hundred miles can never be general, uniform, and lively, like that of the inhabitants of a little ſtate.

Theſe ſage reflections, eſteemed as ſuch by moſt of thoſe who heard them, were reported and denounced by Clootz as a conſpiracy to federalize France, and to detach

tach the departments from Paris. He repreſented uzot as the moſt dangerous of the conſpirators, Rod as their chief, and the members who viſited me oft frequently as abettors of this *liberticide project*. I ow not whether a madman like Clootz may have been ncere in his apprehenſions. I cannot perſuade myſelf it; but rather, that he ſaw, in the fabrication of his , an opportunity of revenging his vanity, offended at ot being admired; a ſubject for declaiming in his own ay, extremely ſuitable to the turgidity of his ſtyle, and he diſorder of his imagination; the occaſion of injuring nen, whoſe reaſon muſt neceſſarily diſpleaſe him, nd of making a common cauſe with thoſe in whoſe ices he delights; even ſuppoſing him to have no ſecret miſſion to embroil France, by the help of extravagant patriots, in order to clear the way for his countrymen, the Pruſſians.

In the mean time the maſſacres continued; at the Abbey, from Sunday evening till Tueſday morning; at the Force, ſtill longer, and four days at Bicêtre. To my preſent abode, in the firſt of thoſe priſons, I am indebted for a knowledge of particulars, at which humanity ſhudders, and which I have not the heart to relate. One circumſtance, however, I will not paſs over in ſilence, becauſe it helps to demonſtrate, that it was a deep-laid ſcheme. It is this: the police having a receiving houſe in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, where it depoſits the priſoners which the Abbey cannot admit, when too much crowded, choſe Sunday evening for their removal, the very inſtant before the general maſſacre. The aſſaſſins were prepared, fell upon the carriages, which were five or ſix hackney-coaches, and with their ſwords and pikes ſtabbed,

ſtabbed, and murdered, all that they contained, in the middle of the ſtreet, and unreſtrained by their ſad and heart-rending cries. All Paris witneſſed theſe horrible ſcenes, perpetrated by a ſmall number of cut-throats: ſo ſmall indeed, that they ſcarcely exceeded a dozen at the Abbey, the gate of which was guarded by two national guards only, notwithſtanding the requiſitions made to the commune and the commandant. All Paris looked on—all Paris was accurſed in my eyes; and I could no longer entertain hopes of the eſtabliſhment of liberty among cowards, inſenſible to the laſt outrages that can be committed on nature and humanity, and coolly contemplating enormities, which the courage of fifty armed men could have prevented with eaſe.

The public force was badly organized, as it is ſtill; for a lawleſs banditti, when determined to domineer, take care to oppoſe all kind of order, that may obſtruct their proceedings. But is it neceſſary for men to know their captain, and march in battalion, when called upon to fly to the aſſiſtance of victims who have the knife of the aſſaſſin at their breaſt? The fact is, that the rumour of a pretended conſpiracy in the priſons, improbable as it was, and the affected annunciation of the uneaſineſs and rage of the people, kept every one in a ſtate of ſtupefaction; and made him believe, while trembling within doors, that it was the people who were the actors; whereas, it appears from the beſt accounts, that there were not two hundred villains concerned in the whole of thoſe infamous proceedings. It is not the firſt night, therefore, that aſtoniſhes me: but four whole days!—and curious people went to the ſpectacle!—No! I know

ow of nothing in the annals of the moſt barbarous ions, comparable to thoſe atrocious acts.

Roland's health was impaired by it. The diſturbance the nervous ſyſtem was ſo great, that his ſtomach re- ted every thing, and the bile, obſtructed in its courſe, ffuſed itſelf over the ſurface of the ſkin. He grew yel- w and weak, but retained his uſual activity; and while able to eat, or ſleep, continued his labours without in- rmiſſion. He was ſtill ignorant of a warrant having en iſſued againſt him; for though it had come to my nowledge, I took great care to keep the ſecret, as it ould only have tended to feed an affection that had al- eady gained too much ground: ſomebody, however, I now not who, took it in his head to mention it he following week. It muſt be confeſſed, that it ſome- imes happened to him to ſtate the particular fact in ſuch way, that his enemies affected to believe, his in- veighing againſt thoſe maſſacres aroſe only from the ears he had entertained of being comprehended in the number of the victims; while, in reality, to the juſt horror, with which they had inſpired him, he only join- ed his indignation, at having been included in the num- ber of the proſcribed.

Danton was the man, who took the moſt pains to re- preſent Roland's oppoſition to theſe events as the fruit of an ardent imagination, and of the cauſeleſs terror with which he was ſtruck. I always thought much might be inferred from that circumſtance.

Hiſtory will no doubt preſerve the infamous circular letter of the committee of vigilance of the commune, containing an apology for the September maſſacres, and an invitation to perpetrate the like throughout France;

France; a letter of which great numbers were diſpatched from the office of the miniſter of juſtice, and counterſigned by his own hand.

Various circumſtances concurring to ſhew that the priſoners from Orleans, whoſe removal had been ordered, and who were already on the road, could not be brought to Paris without danger, the miniſter of the interior gave orders, in conformity with the opinion of the council, to conduct them to Verſailles; and a numerous eſcort was ſent off for that purpoſe. Men who affected horror at the aſſaſſinations of Paris, contrived, by means of that diſguiſe, to make part of it, and were the directors of the ſlaughter that took place on the arrival of the priſoners at Verſailles.

The gold, ſilver, jewels, and other valuables, which abounded at that time in the priſons, in conſequence of the wealth and condition of their inhabitants, were pillaged, as may be ſuppoſed.

And much more conſiderable ſtill was the plunder collected by the members of the commune after the 10th of Auguſt, from the palace of the Tuileries, from the royal houſes in the environs of Paris, to which it ſent commiſſioners, and from the houſes of private perſons who were termed ſuſpected, on whoſe property it had affixed its ſeal.

The commune had received conſiderable depoſits, and had ordered the removal of conſiderable treaſures, and yet no account appeared; nor could the miniſter of the interior obtain the information he had a right to demand concerning theſe matters. He complained to the aſſembly; as he did of the negligence of the commandant-general, from whom he requeſted in vain a more

numerous

numerous guard for the poſt of the *Garde-meuble*. In the mean time the *brigands* went every length, making forcible ſeizure of watches, ſhoe-buckles, and earrings, upon the *boulevards*, and in the market-places, in open day. The aſſembly, as uſual, commended the miniſter's zeal; directed him to make a report of the ſtate of Paris; and took no meaſures whatever.

The robbery of the *Garde-meuble* was effected, and millions fell into the hands of perſons, who would naturally employ them to perpetuate that anarchy from which they derived their power.

On the day that ſucceeded this important theft, d'Eglantine called at our houſe at eleven in the morning; d'Eglantine, who had never made his appearance there ſince the matins of September; and who the laſt time he came, told me, as if from a deep conviction of the critical ſituation of France, that 'things would never go well without a concentration of powers: the executive council, ſaid he, muſt have the dictatorſhip; and the preſident muſt be the man to exerciſe it:'—D'Eglantine did not find me at home; for I had juſt gone out with madam Pétion. He waited two hours; and at my return, I found him in the court-yard. He walked up ſtairs with me, uninvited; and ſtayed an hour and half, without being aſked to ſit down. He lamented in a hypocritical tone the robbery of that night, which deprived the nation of ſo much real wealth; inquired, whether any information concerning the parties had been obtained; and wondered much at its not having been foreſeen. He talked afterwards of Robeſpierre and of Marat, who had begun their attacks upon Roland and myſelf, as

of hot-headed men, who muſt be permitted to go on in their own way, who meant well, were extremely zealous, and took umbrage at every thing, but whoſe conduct ought to excite no alarm. I let him talk on, ſaid very little, and took care not to ſpeak out. At length he withdrew, and I have never ſeen him from that day to this; nor could I ever clearly comprehend the purpoſe of this ſingular viſit. It is a myſtery that time muſt unfold.

I have juſt ſaid, that Marat was beginning to ſlander us; and it ſhould be ſaid alſo, that, the moment the aſſembly had ordered a ſum to be left at the diſpoſal of the miniſter of the home department for printing uſeful works, Marat, who, the day after the 10th of Auguſt, had got *his people* to carry away four preſſes from the royal printing-houſe, by way of indemnifying him for thoſe which had been ſeized by the hand of juſtice, wrote to Roland for fifteen thouſand livres [£.625], to enable him to publiſh ſome very excellent things. Roland made anſwer, that the ſum was too great to be delivered, without knowing the purpoſe for which it was to be employed; but that if Marat would ſend him his manuſcripts, he would lay them before the council, who would determine whether it were proper to publiſh them at the expenſe of the nation. Marat replied in a bad ſtyle, a thing he is very capable of, and ſent a heap of manuſcripts, the very ſight of which was enough to frighten one. There was an eſſay on *the chains of ſlavery*, and I know not what beſides, bearing evident marks of the author's pen, which is characterizing them ſufficiently.

I had ſometimes doubted, whether Marat were not a fictitious

fictitious entity: but I was then convinced, that such a being really existed. I spoke of him to Danton, expressed a desire to see him, and begged he would bring him to our house; for monsters are deserving of attention, and I was desirous of knowing whether he were out of his wits, or a well-prompted actor. Danton declined it, as a thing perfectly useless, and even disagreeable, since it would be only making me acquainted with an original like nothing else in the world. Judging, from the manner in which he excused himself, that he would not gratify my longing, even if I insisted on it, I pretended not to have been serious in my request.

The council decided, that Marat's manuscripts should be put into the hands of Danton, who would find means to settle the matter in some way or other. This was cutting the gordian knot, instead of untying it. It did not become the minister of the home department to expend the public money in seeing a madman, nor was it prudent to make him an enemy: but a plain and direct refusal from the council would have set the question at rest. Entrusting this office to Danton was affording him fresh means of ingratiating himself with the mad dog in question, and of turning him loose upon every body he might wish him to worry.

Three weeks more had passed away, and the business of *Septembrizing* was at an end. Marat had the impudence to post up a demand of fifteen thousand livres from d'Orleans, complaining bitterly of the want of *civism* which Roland showed by refusing him that sum, and this when he had just stuck up a bill, in which I was attacked by name. I was not to be so deceived.—

'This,' ſaid I to my huſband, 'is Dantón all over: intending to attack you, he begins by prowling round your houſe. With all his ſenſe he has the folly to imagine that I ſhall be hurt by his abuſe; that I ſhall take up my pen to anſwer it; that he ſhall have the pleaſure of bringing a woman forward upon the ſtage; and thus expoſe the man to whom ſhe is allied to the ſhafts of ridicule. Theſe people may form a tolerable opinion of my abilities, but are utterly incapable of judging of the temper of my ſoul. Let them continue their calumnies as long as they pleaſe—they will never make me ſtir a ſtep, nor call forth my complaints, nor excite my uneaſineſs.

Roland made his report concerning the ſtate of Paris on the 22d of September. It was exact and ſpirited: that is to ſay, it depicted the diſorders that had been committed, and the impropriety of ſuffering any longer the want of ſubordination that prevailed among the conſtituted authorities, and their dangerous exerciſe of arbitrary power. He did juſtice to the zeal of the commune of the 10th, and acknowledged the great ſervices it rendered to the revolution on that important day: but he ſhewed, that the prolongation of revolutionary meaſures produced preciſely the reverſe of what was hoped for; ſince tyranny was only deſtroyed with a view of introducing the reign of juſtice and order, not leſs averſe from anarchy than from deſpotiſm itſelf; he concluded by pointing out the propriety and difficulty of obtaining accounts from the commune, from which he had repeatedly demanded them in vain.

The aſſembly, ſound in its intelect, but of a weak temper of mind, applauded the report, ordered it to be printed,

rinted, paſſed a few inſignificant decrees, and rectified othing. It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive a ſituation more painful, than that of a firm and upright man, who, while at the head of an important department, appearing to poſſeſs conſiderable power, and lying under a heavy reſponſibility, is obliged to be the daily witneſs of ſhocking abuſes, of which the denunciation alone belongs to him, and which the legiſlative authority either wants means or courage to repreſs. To caſhier the commune, to order a new municipality to be elected according to the forms preſcribed by law, to organize the public force, and to have a commander appointed by the ſections; theſe were the only meaſures capable of reſtoring order, without which the laws would be appealed to in vain, and the convention would neceſſarily become ſubject to the municipal authority, which defied all reſtraint. In this ſtate of things, I would rather have wiſhed Roland to dedicate his talents to his country as a repreſentative of the people, than as member of a council without energy, and miniſter of a government without power. I did not conceal this way of thinking from a few perſons capable of eſtimating it properly; for as to the vulgar, they would never have been able to underſtand how any one could prefer a modeſt ſituation to the "pride, pomp, and circumſtance," of a place in the miniſtry; and for want of ſeeing the matter in a proper light would have been apt to form very ſilly conjectures.

The department of the Somme, in which Roland had long reſided, elected him a member of the convention. This choice excited almoſt univerſal regret. It appeared inconſiderate and abſurd to take from the helm a man of integrity, courage, and underſtanding, whom it

would be difficult to replace; in order to put him into an assembly, where so many others might serve the state by their votes as well as he, without possessing equal abilities. Roland saw no room for hesitation. He wrote to the assembly in consequence, requesting that his place might be filled up, and pointing out the person whom he thought best qualified to succeed him. This news occasioned extraordinary agitation: great was the outcry on all sides; and a motion was made, that he should be invited to remain in the ministry. The convention had already formed itself into a body, composed of the great number of members of the legislative assembly who were re-elected, and of the new members who arrived first from the country; or else the latter took their seats in the legislative assembly. Which of the two was the case I do not perfectly recollect at this moment, when I have no documents by me: but Danton was present *, and rose to oppose this invitation with great warmth. His impetuosity betrayed his rancour, and led him to say many ridiculous things: among others, that they ought to address the invitation to me also, as a person by no means useless to Roland's administration. Murmurs of disapprobation repelled the invidious insinuation; but the decree did not pass, though the general wish was strongly expressed. Neither was the offer of resignation accepted, and Roland remained still

* I remember that, for more than a month, he continued to officiate at the council, while he went and voted in the assembly. This concentration of power in one person appeared highly improper to Roland, who, during the last fortnight that Danton proceeded in this manner, kept away from a council, influenced by a man who had no longer any right to sit there.

free

ee to make his option. A crowd of members repaired o his houſe, to entreat him not to quit the miniſtry. They preſſed the matter home to him, as a ſacrifice he wed to his country, and aſſured him that the conven-ion, when once complete, would bring the public affairs o a grand and deciſive iſſue, which his ſpirit and activity would help to advance, and by which he would be ſup-ported. Two days had paſſed in theſe ſolicitations, when news was brought, that his election was void, be-cauſe made in lieu of another erroneouſly ſuppoſed to be null; and that conſequently he had no reaſon to quit the miniſtry.

Accordingly he reſolved to keep his place; and wrote to the aſſembly in a courageous and dignified ſtyle, which was crowned with the plaudits of the majority, and made his enemies tremble. His election proved void in reality; but this was a circumſtance that Danton's party endeavoured to conceal till he ſhould have quitted the miniſtry, in order that he might be thrown out of every ſituation. That party no longer gave him any quarter: every day produced ſome freſh attack: Marat's journal, pamphlets compoſed for the purpoſe, and denunciations at the Jacobins, kept repeating inceſſant calumnies and accuſations, each more ſtupid or more atrocious than its predeceſſor. But effrontery and perſeverance in things of this kind are ſure to ſucceed with a people naturally fickle and ſuſpicious. They even went ſo far as to impute to him as a crime, what ought to have procured him praiſe; and had the art of inſpiring honeſt men of weak nerves with alarm at that very ſolicitude, which tended moſt to the ſafety of the republic; I mean his care to inform the public mind. It requires no profound

ſkill in politics to know, that the ſtrength of a govern-ment depends upon opinion; and accordingly all the difference that exiſts in this reſpect between a tyrannical adminiſtration, and one which takes juſtice for its guide, is, that the former is employed wholly in contracting the ſphere of knowledge, and ſuppreſſing truth, while the latter makes it a rule to diffuſe them as widely as poſſible.

The aſſembly rightly judged that the events of the 10th of Auguſt would produce different impreſſions, according to the prejudices or intereſts of individuals, and the manner in which they ſhould be repreſented, directed a narrative of the facts to be drawn up, decreed that it ſhould be printed, ſupported it by the publication of all the documents that tended to prove its accuracy, ordered the miniſter of the home department to diſpatch them to every part of France, and enjoined him to promote the writing of pamphlets conducive to the ſame end.

Roland felt that, in the circumſtances of the times, the art of diffuſing information needed improvement, and that it was requiſite to produce a ſtream of light, that might in ſome meaſure ſupply the want of public inſtruction, ever too much neglected. By means of the inquiries he ſet on foot in the departments, he found out and retained a ſmall number of zealous and enlightened men, on whoſe fidelity, in diſtributing ſuch writings as might be ſent to them, he thought he could rely. He made it a rule to anſwer every body, and to keep up a correſpondence with all the popular ſocieties, country clergymen, and private perſons, who might apply to him. He ſent to the ſocieties a circular letter, remind-

ng them of the ſpirit of their inſtitution, and calling hem back to the fraternal care of inſtructing and enightening each other, from which they had but too reat a tendency to depart, in order to debate on public neaſures, and interfere with the government. He ſeected from among his clerks three or four intelligent men o carry on this *patriotic correſpondence*, and diſpatch the printed tracts, intruſting the principal management to him among them who had moſt ſenſibility of heart, ſtrictneſs of principle, and amenity of ſtyle; and this correſpondence he frequently animated by his own circular letters, dictated by circumſtances, and always breathing that morality, and couched in thoſe terms of affection, which engage men's hearts. It is impoſſible to conceive the excellent effect that theſe things produced: troubles of every kind ſubſided; the adminiſtrative bodies executed their functions with regularity; and five or ſix hundred ſocieties, and a conſiderable number of country clergymen, employed themſelves with laudable zeal in diffuſing inſtruction, and in attaching to the public weal men hitherto occupied in their manual labours, but at the ſame time loſt in ignorance, and more diſpoſed to hug their chains, than to maintain that freedom, of which they neither knew the extent, nor the limits, nor the duties, nor the rights.

This *patriotic correſpondence* is a valuable monument, equally atteſting the pure principles and enlightened vigilance of the miniſter, the good will of a great number of intelligent citizens, and the admirable fruits of wiſdom, patriotiſm, and reaſon.

In the thing itſelf, and in its effects, ſuſpicious and jealous men ſaw leſs the triumph of freedom, the maintenance

tenance of tranquillity, and the conſolidation of the republic, than the fame and reputation that might accrue to the firſt mover. From that moment Roland was repreſented as a dangerous man, who had *offices of public ſpirit*; ſoon after as a corruptor of the people's opinions, and a man ambitious of the ſupreme power; and laſt of all, as a conſpirator.

All that was wanting was to read his writings, and examine his correſpondence. The departments, that received his letters, anſwered him with their warmeſt thanks; but the banditti of Paris, always calumniating, and never proving any thing, excited by means of a thouſand ſtratagems, a ſort of diſtruſt in the public mind, which the jacobins ſeconded with all their power, for they were no longer ſwayed by any body but the Dantons, the Robeſpierres, and the Marats.

Note.

St. Pélagie, Auguſt 8, 1793.

More than two months have I been impriſoned, becauſe I am allied to a worthy man, who thought proper to retain his virtue in a revolution, and to give in exact accounts though a miniſter. For five months he ſolicited in vain the paſſing of thoſe accounts, and the pronouncing of judgment on his adminiſtration. They have been examined: but, as they have afforded no room for blame, it has been deemed expedient to make no report on the ſubject, but to ſubſtitute calumny in its place. Roland's activity, his multifarious labours, and his inſtructive writings, had procured him a degree of conſideration which appeared formidable; or ſo at leaſt en-

ious men would have it, in order to effect the downfal f a man whoſe integrity they deteſted. His ruin was eſolved upon, and an attempt was made to take him nto cuſtody at the time of the inſurrection of the 31ſt f May; the epoch of the complete debaſement of the ational repreſentation, of its violation, and of the ſuc- eſs of the decemvirate. He made his eſcape, and in heir fury they faſtened upon me; but I ſhould have been arreſted at any rate; for though our perſecutors know that my name has not the ſame influence as his, they are perſuaded that my temper is not leſs firm, and are almoſt equally deſirous of my ruin.

The firſt part of my captivity I employed in writing. My pen proceeded with ſo much rapidity, and I was in ſo happy a diſpoſition of mind, that in leſs than a month I had manuſcripts ſufficient to form a duodecimo volume. They were intitled Hiſtorical Notices, and contained a variety of particulars relative to all the facts, and all the perſons, connected with public affairs, that my ſituation had given me an opportunity of knowing. I related them with all the freedom and energy of my nature, with all the openneſs and unconſtraint of an ingenuous mind, ſetting itſelf above ſelfiſh conſidera- tions, with all the pleaſure which reſults from deſcribing what we have experienced, or what we feel, and laſtly with the confidence, that, happen what would, the collec- tion would ſerve as my moral and political teſtament.

I had completed the whole, bringing things down to the preſent moment, and had entruſted it to a friend, who rated it at a high price. On a ſudden the ſtorm burſt over his head. The inſtant he found himſelf put under arreſt, he thought of nothing but the danger, he felt

ſelt nothing but the neceſſity of averting it, and without caſting about for expedients, threw my manuſcript into the fire. This loſs diſtreſſed me more than the ſevereſt trials have ever done. This will eaſily be conceived, when it is remembered that the criſis approaches, that I may be murdered to-morrow, or dragged, I know not how, before the tribunal which our rulers employ to rid them of the perſons they find troubleſome; and that theſe writings were the anchor to which I had committed my hopes of ſaving my own memory from reproach, as well as that of many deſerving characters.

As we ought not, however, to ſink under any event, I ſhall employ my leiſure hours in ſetting down, without form or order, whatever may occur to my mind. Theſe fragments will not make amends for what I have loſt, but they will ſerve to recall it to my memory, and aſſiſt me in filling up the void on ſome future day, provided the means of doing ſo remain in my power.

PORTRAITS AND ANECDOTES.

BUZOT.

A MAN of an exalted mind, high ſpirit, and impetuous courage, endowed with great ſenſibility, ardent, melancholy, and indolent, cannot but ſometimes run into extremes. A great admirer of nature, feeding his imagination with all the charms ſhe has to offer, and his mind with the principles of the moſt amiable philoſophy, he ſeems formed to taſte and to confer domeſtic happineſs: he would forget the whole world in the placid enjoyment of private virtues with a heart worthy of his own. But, thrown into public life, he attends to nothing but the laws of rigid equity, and defends them at all hazards. Eaſily rouſed to indignation againſt injuſtice, he aſſails it with ardour, and is incapable of entering into a compoſition with guilt. The friend of human nature, ſuſceptible of the tendereſt feelings, and capable of the ſublimeſt flights and moſt generous reſolutions, he loves his fellow-creatures, and, like a true republican, is ever ready to ſacrifice himſelf for their good: but a ſevere judge of individuals, and cautious in ſelecting the objects of his eſteem, he beſtows his friendſhip upon few. This reſerve, added to the energetic freedom with which he expreſſes

expreſſes himſelf, has drawn upon him a charge of haughtineſs, and made him many enemies. Mediocrity ſcarcely ever forgives merit; but vice deteſts and perſecutes that courageous virtue, which ſets it at defiance. Buzot is the gentleſt man on earth with his friends, but the roughеſt adverſary a knave can have to do with. While yet a young man, the ripeneſs of his judgment, and purity of his morals, obtained him the eſteem and confidence of his fellow-citizens. Their confidence and eſteem were juſtified by his devotion to truth, and by his firmneſs and perſeverance in ſpeaking it. Men of vulgar minds, who depreciate what they cannot attain, call his penetration a revery, his warmth paſſion, his ſtrong remarks ſatire, and his oppoſition to all violent meaſures a revolt againſt the majority. He was accuſed of *royaliſm*, becauſe he aſſerted, that morals were neceſſary in a republic, and that nothing ſhould be omitted that may tend to maintain or correct them; of *calumniating Paris*, becauſe he abhorred the maſſacres of September, and aſcribed them to a handful of cut-throats hired by robbers; of *ariſtocracy*, becauſe he wiſhed to call upon the people to exerciſe its ſovereignty by paſſing judgment on Lewis XVI; of *federaliſm*, becauſe he inſiſted upon the maintenance of equality among all the departments, and oppoſed the municipal tyranny of an overweening commune. Such were his crimes. He had his errors alſo. Poſſeſſing a nobleneſs of countenance, and elegance of ſhape, he dreſſed himſelf with that care, neatneſs, and decorum, which beſpeak a love of order, a ſenſe of propriety, and that reſpect which a well-bred man owes to the public and to himſelf.

Thus, when the ſcum of the nation put the helm in the

e hands of men, who made patriotiſm conſiſt in flat-ring the people, in order to miſlead them; in over-rning and invading every thing, by way of procuring onſequence and wealth; in libelling the laws, that they ight govern according to their own diſcretion; in rotecting licentiouſneſs, as a mean of procuring impunity r their crimes; in cutting throats, on purpoſe to perpe-uate their power; and in ſwearing, drinking, and dreſſing ke porters, in order to fraterniſe with wretches like them-elves; Buzot ſtill profeſſed the morality of a Socrates, nd retained the politeneſs of a Scipio. — What a vil-ain!—Accordingly the *upright* Lacroix, the *judicious* Chabot, the *gentle* Lindet, the *modeſt* Thuriot, the *learned* Duroi, the *humane* Danton, and their faithful imitators, have declared him a traitor to his country: hey have had his houſe razed, and his property con-ſiſcated, as in former days Ariſtides was baniſhed, and Phocion condemned to die. I am aſtoniſhed at their not paſſing a decree, making it felony to remember his name. It would have been more conſiſtent with their views, than their attempts to preſerve it coupled with epithets, that are diſproved by the evidence of facts.

They cannot expunge from the page of hiſtory Buzot's conduct in the conſtituent aſſembly; nor ſuppreſs his judicious motions, and vigorous ſallies, in the convention. However his opinions may be falſified by faithleſs journals, the principles by which they are ſupported are ſtill to be perceived through the diſguiſe. Buzot frequently ſpoke off-hand; was indolent in other reſpects; but never failed to ſtand up againſt all perverſe ſyſtems of politics, and every plan that appeared prejudicial to liberty. His report on the departmental guard,

guard, a project ſo much decried, contains arguments that have never been anſwered. That concerning the law propoſed againſt inſtigators to murder diſplays the ſoundeſt policy, and a ſpirit of philoſophy, as true as it is natural, and as ſtrong as the reaſon by which it is upheld. His propoſal for the baniſhment of the Bourbons is developed with preciſion, ſupported by the moſt accurate reaſoning, and written with equal elegance and feeling. His opinion on the judgment of the king, while it abounds with facts and arguments, is free from that declamation and irrelevance of matter, in which ſo many others indulged in their harangues upon that important ſubject. And laſtly, his letters to his conſtituents, of the 6th and 22d of January, depict his mind with ſuch truth, as will make them long an object of attention. A few combatants of his ſtrength might have given the convention the impulſion which it wanted: but the reſt of the men of talents, keeping themſelves back as *orators* for great occaſions, were too neglectful of the petty warfare which was carried on every day; nor were they ſufficiently aware of the tactics to which their adverſaries were forced by their mediocrity to reſort.

PÉTION,

A TRULY honeſt and good-natured man, is equally incapable of doing the leaſt thing repugnant to juſtice, of inflicting the ſlighteſt injury, or of giving the ſmalleſt uneaſineſs to any one. In regard to himſelf, he can neg-

lect

ect many things, but knows not how to refuſe a favour any perſon in the world. The ſerenity of a good onſcience, the mildneſs of an eaſy temper, with frank-eſs and cheerfulneſs, are depicted in his countenance. He was a prudent mayor, and faithful repreſentative: ut he is too ſanguine, and too peaceable, to foreſee r to lay a ſtorm. Sound judgment, good intentions, nd what is termed juſtneſs of thought, are the charac-eriſtics of his opinions and writings, which bear ſtronger marks of good ſenſe than of talents. As an orator he is old; as a writer his ſtile is looſe. An equitable mini-ter, and a good citizen, he was formed for the prac-tice of the ſocial virtues in a republic, and not to found a republican government among a corrupt people, who for ſome time idolized him, and then rejoiced at his proſcription, as at that of an enemy.

At the time of the conſtituent aſſembly, during the reviſion of the laws, I was one day with Buzot's wife, when her huſband returned at a late hour from the aſſembly, and brought Pétion with him to dinner. It was at that period when the court affected to conſider them as factious men, and deſcribed them as intriguers entirely occupied in exciting diſturbances. After dinner, Petion, who was ſitting on a large ſofa, began to play with a young pointer, with all the earneſtneſs of a child, till at length they both grew tired, and fell aſleep *in one another's arms*. The converſation of four perſons did not prevent Pétion from ſnoring. 'Do but look at that ſower of ſedition,' ſaid Buzot, with a ſmile: 'we were eyed aſkance as we were quitting the hall; and our accuſers, very buſy about party intrigues them-

themſelves, imagine that we are engaged in ſimilar manœuvres.'

The circumſtance, and the remark, have often recurred to my mind, ſince theſe unfortunate latter times when Pétion and Buzot are accuſed and proſcribed as royaliſts, with as much reaſon as the court then had to charge them with intrigue. Always alone with their principles, or aſſociating with none but men who profeſſed the ſame, in order to diſcuſs their opinions; they thought it would ſuffice to contend obſtinately for juſtice, to ſpeak the truth conſtantly, and to ſacrifice themſelves, or at leaſt to run every hazard, rather than betray ſo good a cauſe.——And yet theſe are the men that are declared *traitors to their country*.

I will here record a fact of ſome conſequence. It has been ſeen elſewhere, that during the firſt patriotic adminiſtration, it had been agreed upon, that the miniſter for foreign affairs ſhould take from the fund allotted to his department for ſecret ſervice money certain ſums, which were to be put into the hands of the mayor of Paris, as well for the police, which was reduced to nothing for want of means, as for publications to counteract the influence of thoſe of the court. Dumouriez having quitted that department, the matter was mentioned to d'Abancourt, that is to ſay, as far as regarded the money wanting for the police alone. D'Abancourt would do nothing in it himſelf; but pretended, that it was a buſineſs, which the king ſhould be brought to approve, and of which his majeſty would not fail to ſee the juſtice. The propoſal was not at all to the taſte of the king, who anſwered in direct terms,

rms, that he would not buy rods to whip himſelf. n this he ſpoke ſenſibly enough, as he was not a ſin-ere friend to the conſtitution; and ſuch an anſwer ight have been expected. But a few days after, La-roix, the preſent colleague of Danton, in concert with hom he is plundering Belgium; Lacroix, the perſe-utor of honeſt men, and the ſovereign of the day, who hen had a ſeat in the legiſlative aſſembly, and who was nown to frequent the palace, called upon Pétion to promiſe im the free diſpoſal of three millions of livres [£125,000] f he would employ them in ſuch a way as to ſupport is majeſty; a propoſition which muſt needs have been nore offenſive to Pétion, in his character of mayor, han the other could have been to Louis XVI. It was accordingly rejected, notwithſtanding the peculiarly kind reception he met with at that very time from the king; for being ſent for to the palace, inſtead of find-ng the monarch, whom he had never before ſeen alone, ſurrounded as uſual, he was introduced into his cloſet, where there appeared to be no one elſe, and where Louis XVI. laviſhed upon him many marks of affabi-lity and regard, and even thoſe little captivating cajo-leries, which he had the art of diſtributing at will. A ſlight ruſtling of ſilk behind the hangings made Pétion imagine that the queen was preſent without being viſible, and the careſſes of Louis convinced him of his hypo-criſy: he remained firm and honeſt, without yielding to the king, who was trying to corrupt him, in like manner as, without flattering the people, he wiſhed to appeal to them on the trial of that very king; while Lacroix, who had ſerved him, and had probably been well paid for his ſervices, thought that he could not be too ſpeedily condemned to die.

Pache.

It has been ſaid with reaſon, that the talent of knowing mankind is of the firſt importance to thoſe who govern, their errors in that particular being always the moſt fatal. But the exerciſe of this talent, at all times ſo difficult, becomes infinitely more ſo in the time of a revolution; there is beſides a degree of hypocriſy, by which it is no diſgrace to be duped, ſince a man muſt be wicked himſelf to ſuſpect its exiſtence.

In my youthful days, I had met, at the houſe of one of my relations, a clerk in the poſt office, of the name of Gibert, who poſſeſſed that mildneſs of manners which generally accompanies a taſte for the fine arts. Gibert, a man of a cultivated mind, and an affectionate father, amuſed himſelf with painting, made a ſtudy of muſic, and by his ſtrict probity obtained the eſteem of all his acquaintance. He was extremely attached to a man, his moſt particular friend, whoſe extraordinary merit he extolled with all the enthuſiaſm of an affectionate heart, and with all the modeſty of a perſon who thought himſelf far his inferior. I was ſometimes in company with this friend; in whom there was nothing remarkable at firſt ſight, but his extreme ſimplicity. I had, however, no opportunity of forming a judgment of him, for I met with him but ſeldom, and did not often ſee Gibert himſelf; I only learnt, that his friend, who was *Pache*, being enamoured of a country life, the only one ſuited to his patriarchal manners, and in love with liberty, of which his well informed mind enabled him to eſtimate all the advantages,

vantages, was about to reſign a genteel place under the French government, to ſettle with his family in Switzerland. I afterwards leant, that having loſt his wife, and perceiving that his children regretted Paris, and that the revolution was paving the way for our national emancipation, he had taken the reſolution of returning; and that being ſatisfied with the independence he had derived from the ſale of his former property, and the fortunate purchaſe of a national eſtate, he had ſent back the grant of a penſion to a quondam miniſter by whoſe intereſt it had been obtained.

It was not neceſſary to be often in Gibert's company, and to know his intimacy with Pache, to be informed of every thing that could be ſaid to the latter's advantage. In the month of January, 1792, he brought him to our houſe, and I ſaw him from time to time. Pache, as I have already obſerved, wears an appearance of the utmoſt modeſty. It is ſo great indeed, that you would be tempted to adopt the opinion he ſeems to entertain of himſelf, and take him for a thing of no great value. But credit is given him for that modeſty, when it is diſcovered that he reaſons well, and is by no means wanting in information. As he is extremely reſerved, and never unboſoms himſelf freely, people ſoon ſuſpect him to know more than he ſays, and end with aſcribing to him more merit than he poſſeſſes, becauſe they were very near committing the injuſtice of allowing him none. A perſon who talks little, liſtens with an air of intelligence to every ſubject of diſcuſſion, and ventures a few well-timed obſervations, eaſily paſſes for a man of ſenſe. Pache had made an acquaintance with Meunieurs and Monge, both members of the academy of

ſciences; and had helped them to form a popular ſociety in the ſection of the Luxembourg, the object of which, they ſaid, was the diffuſion of information, and the encouragement of patriotic ſentiments. Pache was very aſſiduous in this ſociety; and appeared to dedicate to his country, as a citizen, all the time which he did not devote to his children, and which intervened between the public lectures, whither he attended them.

I have related elſewhere how Roland was called to the miniſtry at the end of March of the ſame year. The offices were filled with agents of the old government, little diſpoſed to favour the new; but they were accuſtomed to the routine of buſineſs; and it would have been wrong to hazard unhinging the whole of a great machine, in thoſe troubleſome times, for the ſake of changing a few clerks. Nothing more then was to be done but to keep a ſtrict eye over them, and to make preparations for their removal in due time. But in the multiplicity of buſineſs, the daily current of which hurries a man in office along with inconceivable rapidity, it cannot be denied, that he may eaſily commit himſelf, if he do not pay the moſt ſcrupulous attention to every thing, an attention which becomes infinitely irkſome, when the conſequence of diſtruſt. In this ſituation, Roland was deſirous of finding a truſty man, whom he might have always with him in his cloſet, and whom he might get to read over a letter, or a report, on any urgent buſineſs, when other buſineſs ſtill more urgent would not permit him to reviſe it himſelf: not to make any alteration in the compoſition, but merely to ſee that the adverſe principles of the clerks had not influenced the manner of ſtating facts, or drawing concluſions; a man, in ſhort, who might be

be truſted to ſeek for a particular paper, in a particular office, or to deliver a verbal meſſage on any matter of importance. The idea of Pache occurred. Pache had been a clerk in the admiralty; was well acquainted with the routine of office; poſſeſſed abilities, patriotiſm, morals, which would procure a man in office credit for his appointment, and that ſimplicity which never excites ill-will. The idea appeared excellent. It was mentioned to Pache, who immediately expreſſed the utmoſt eagerneſs to ſerve Roland, by making himſelf uſeful to the public weal; but on condition of preſerving his independence, by taking neither title nor ſalary. This was beginning well. It was ſuppoſed that, when a new arrangement ſhould take place in the office, it would be eaſy to ſee for what he was particularly fit; and Pache came to Roland's cloſet every morning at ſeven, with his morſel of bread in his pocket, and ſtaid till three, without its being poſſible to prevail on him to take any thing: attentive, prudent, zealous, doing his duty diligently, making an obſervation, putting in a word, to bring the argument back to the point in queſtion, and ſoothing Roland, who was ſometimes vexed at the ariſtocratical contradiction of his clerks.

Roland, whoſe diſpoſition was ardent, and his feelings ſtrong, rated the mildneſs and complaiſance of Pache very highly, and treated him as a valuable friend: while I, grateful for the ſervice I ſuppoſed him to render my huſband, laviſhed on him marks of eſteem, and proofs of attachment. The ſtyle of Pache was a bad one: it did not do to ſet him about compoſing a letter: it was ſure to be dry and flat; but he was not wanted for that purpoſe, and was uſeful on thoſe occa-

ſions which had been ſuppoſed to require the ſuperintendance of a truſty perſon. Our friend *Servan*, lately appointed miniſter at war, was alarmed at the complication and derangement of certain branches of his department, and envied us Pache. 'Let me have that honeſt man,' ſaid he to Roland: 'you have no further occaſion for him, you are above your buſineſs a hundred times over; and now that the chaos of the firſt outſet has aſſumed ſhape and order, you no longer need the ſuperintendance of another; but as to me, I am overwhelmed with buſineſs, and in the utmoſt want of perſons in whom I can confide.'—Theſe miniſters were alſo of opinion, that ſome ſhare of capacity was wanting to fill a place, and that a man ought not to be employed without reaſonable grounds to ſuppoſe him poſſeſſed of the neceſſary qualifications. Roland conſented, and Pache, upon being conſulted, yielded with as good a grace, on the ſame conditions that he had made with Roland. After his being thrown into this ſituation, we ſcarcely ever ſaw him; but Servan ſpoke highly in his praiſe.

A change in the miniſtry took place. Roland kept himſelf ſecluded from the world; and Pache returned to his ſection. The tenth of Auguſt followed ſoon after; and the legiſlative aſſembly recalled the patriotic miniſters. Roland arranged his offices; and as Pache perſiſted in his reſolution to retain his independence, Roland appointed Fépoul, whom Pache had introduced; an intelligent, induſtrious, and careful man, very well calculated for the accomptant department, dexterous in his conduct, never ſetting himſelf up in oppoſition to any one, and ever adhering to the ſtrongeſt party.

Roland,

Roland, elected a member of the convention, and diſ-
uſted at the horrors of September, was deſirous of re-
ring from the miniſtry; and, knowing the extreme em-
arraſſment the wiſeſt heads would have been in to find
im a ſucceſſor, thought he ſhould render an eſſential
ervice to the public by mentioning Pache. This he did
ith all the frankneſs that belonged to his character,
nd all the warmth of a feeling heart, proud of ac-
knowledging merit, wherever it ſeems to reſide.

Pache, to whom he had not hinted his intention,
nd who had a little before refuſed the ſuperintendance
of the jewel office, a place for which he propoſed
Reſtout, whom Roland appointed upon his recommen-
dation, appeared well ſatisfied to remain his own maſ-
er. He accepted, however, a miſſion from Monge
for Toulon, repaired thither, and committed ſeveral
acts of folly, as I was afterwards informed.

Servan's health obliging him to quit the war-office,
the man whom Roland had recommended was ap-
pointed to fill that department, as the perſon on whom
in point of principle the ſtrongeſt dependance might
be placed, and who, as to talents, could not but be
ſufficiently qualified for ſuch a place. We wrote to
Pache, to inform him of his appointment, and preſſed
him to accept it. But this was in all likelihood unne-
ceſſary; for, jealous as he was of his independence, he
appeared not to have the leaſt uneaſineſs concerning the
burden about to be laid on his ſhoulders, and took it
up without heſitation. On his return to Paris he came
to ſee us, and we talked with him freely on the diſpo-
ſition of men's minds; of the party which the Pariſian
deputies were forming; of the enormities of the commune;

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of the dangers that appeared to threaten the liberty of the convention, and particularly of thoſe, which might ariſe from the predominance of immoral and guilty men, who only ſought to acquire power in order to eſcape puniſhment or to gratify their paſſions; of the order to be eſtabliſhed in his department, and of our joy at ſeeing him in the council, where his preſence would preſerve a union of will and ſingleneſs of action. Pache liſtened to the effuſions of confidence with the ſilence of a man who conceals his own ſentiments; oppoſed every opinion of Roland at the council-table; and came to ſee him no more.

At firſt we imagined, that this conduct aroſe from a movement of ſelf-love, a ſort of fear of appearing the creature of Roland. But I learnt, that this man, who never accepted the invitations of his colleague, under pretence of the retirement in which the multiplicity of his buſineſs obliged him to live, received Fabre, Chabot, and other mountaineers at his table; that he paid his court to their friends; that he took their creatures into office, all of them, either as great knaves as the valet in a comedy *, or ignorant fellows, or intriguers like themſelves; and that honeſt men began to murmur and deſpair. I thought it right to try the only means that remained of opening his eyes, if he were merely miſled, or of pulling away the maſk if he were really acting with ill faith. I wrote to him then on the 11th of November, in a friendly ſtyle, to communicate to him the murmurs that began to prevail, the cauſes to which they were owing, and what his own in-

* In the old French comedies, the lackey is invariably a knaviſh buffoon, who ſticks at nothing. *Tranſ.*

tereſt

ereſt ſeemed to require. I reminded him of what had been ſaid in confidence on his entrance into the miniſtry; and I added a word or two concerning the unequivocal ſentiments we had expreſſed, the unanimity they promiſed, and the preſent ſtate of things, ſo oppoſite to what they would have led one to expect.

Pache made me not the ſmalleſt anſwer; and we ſoon after heard that his firſt clerks Haſſenfratz, Vincent, and the reſt (miſerable beings, whom I would not mention, had not their enormities already inſured their names a place in the hiſtory of the popular commotions of theſe latter times) were declaiming at the jacobins, and elſewhere againſt Roland, and holding him up as the enemy of the people. There could no longer then be any doubt but that Pache was ſeeking his downfal. The atrocity and baſeneſs of this conduct filled me with indignation and contempt: ſentiments, in which I was beforehand with ſeveral who had become acquainted with Pache by means of us, and who were then inclined to charge me with levity, though their averſion to the man has ſince exceeded mine. The peculation, or the profuſe expenditure at leaſt, that took place in the war department during his adminiſtration, was horrible; every thing was diſorganiſed, owing to the bad choice of the perſons employed; it was proved, that regiments reduced to a ſmall number of men were paid as if complete; it was not only impoſſible to furniſh an account, but even to imagine the means of doing ſo, for more than 130 millions of livres [near five millions and a half ſterling]. In the twenty-four hours that followed his diſmiſſion, rendered indiſpenſable by ſo much miſchief, he filled up ſixty different places, with all the perſons he knew of who were

baſe enough to pay their court to him, from his ſon-in-law, who from a curate became commiſſary-general with a ſalary of 19000 livres [£.792], to his hair-dreſſer, a blackguard boy of nineteen, whom he made a muſter-maſter. Theſe are the exploits which the people of Paris rewarded by calling him to the mayoralty, where, ſupported by the Chaumets, Heberts, and other tatterdemalions, he favoured the oppreſſion of the legiſlative body, the violation of the national repreſentation, and the proſcription of all virtuous men, and thus helped to ſeal the ruin of his country.

And this was the man who was in ſearch of a free country, who gave up penſions, and refuſed a place! But Pache went into Switzerland, where his family originally reſided—(a circumſtance that enabled his father to keep a great man's door at Paris *,) hoping there to lead a more agreeable life, than in a place which reminded him of the obſcurity of his birth; and Pache received from *Caſtries* a penſion, which bore witneſs to the ſtate of dependence that he had lived in at his houſe, and might have excited ſuſpicion, when the nobles and miniſters of the old government were objects of perſecution. This was a part of his hiſtory, which I was unacquainted with, and which is no way inconſiſtent with Pache returning to France after the taking of the Baſtile, currying favour in a little popular ſociety well contrived for the acquiſition of influence, obſtinately refuſing ſecond-rate places, but not heſitating a moment to become a member of the council, and

* The reputation of the Swiſs for probity was ſo great in France, that all the noblemen had them in their ſervice as porters. A porter and a Swiſs became at laſt ſynonymous words. *Tranſ.*

take

take upon himſelf that department in the adminiſtration, which circumſtances rendered moſt important. He is in politics the Tartuffe * of Moliere.

Whilſt I am writing this, Biron is confined in the priſon that I inhabit. Towards the end of Pache's miniſtry, Biron came to denounce him to the aſſembly, and was conſequently provided with documents capable of proving his miſdemeanours. Biron met with him; was ſeduced by his air of ſimplicity; perſuaded himſelf that he had erred rather from unſkilfulneſs than diſhoneſty; thought it cruel to bring a man to the block who might have been deceived; relinquiſhed his deſign; and then mentioned it to Pache himſelf. Pache came to an explanation; contrived to wheedle Biron out of all the information and documents that related to the complaint of which he was the object; and then had him ſent to the army of Italy, where he was left deſtitute of every thing. Biron obtained ſome advantages; they were never mentioned: he made complaints; no attention was paid to them: time ran on; the evils increaſed: he grew urgent; an order was ſent him to repair to Paris: as ſoon as he arrived he was taken into cuſtody, and confined at St. Pélagie. In this ſtroke he recognizes the hand of Pache, and has no doubt as to the tyrant by whom he is oppreſſed.

* A conſummate hypocrite. *Tranſ.*

Gironde.

Guadet and Genſonné

Love each other, probably becauſe there is no reſemblance between them. Guadet is as impetuous as Genſonné is cool: but the violent ſallies of his fiery temper are never ſucceeded by malice; nor is his ſoul ſuſceptible of an intention to offend. Nature has made Guadet an orator; Genſonné has made himſelf a logician. The one frequently loſes, in deliberating, the time which ſhould be employed in action: the other diſſipates, in bold, but ſhort and tranſient, flights, that warmth, which ought ſometimes to be concentrated, and always to be longer ſupported, in order to produce a durable effect.

Guadet had brilliant moments in each of the two aſſemblies, the legiſlative and conventional: they were owing to the aſcendency of honeſty, ſeconded by talents: but poſſeſſed of feelings too ſtrong to keep up a long ſtruggle without tiring, he has drawn upon himſelf the hatred of the wicked, without exciting much of their fear; nor did he ever attain the degree of influence which his enemies were fond of aſcribing to him, in order to render him an object of diſtruſt. Genſonné, uſeful in debate, which, however, he has the fault of drawing out to too great a length, took an active part in the committees, and drew up part of the plan of the intended conſtitution. His ſpeech on the buſineſs of the king is enlivened by ſarcaſtic ſtrokes, to which

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apparent coolneſs gave an edge, and which the ſons of the mountain will never forgive.

Both of them tender huſbands, good fathers, excellent citizens, virtuous men, and ſincere republicans, they only ſunk under the accuſation of the conſpirators, becauſe they did not even know how to *coaleſce* in favour of the good cauſe, the only one for which they contended, and for which they deſerved to live.

Vergniaux

Was, perhaps, the moſt eloquent man in the aſſembly. He did not ſpeak without preparation, like Guadet: but his made ſpeeches, of great argumentative ſtrength, full of fire, abounding in matter, reſplendent with the moſt beautiful forms of oratory, and ſupported by a dignified delivery, may ſtill be read with the greateſt pleaſure.

And yet I love not Vergniaux: he appears to me a philoſopher totally abſorbed in ſelf. Diſdaining mankind, no doubt becauſe he knows them well, he gives himſelf no concern on their account: but with this way of thinking, a man ſhould keep out of all public employs; if he do not his idleneſs becomes a crime; and in this reſpect Vergniaux is highly culpable. What a pity, that talents like his ſhould not have been employed with the ardour of a man devoted to the public weal, and with the perſeverance of an active mind!

Grangeneuve

GRANGENEUVE

Is the beſt of men, with a countenance of the leaſt promiſe. His underſtanding is of the common level, but his ſoul is truly great: and he performs noble actions with ſimplicity, and without ſuſpecting how much they would coſt any other but himſelf.

In the courſe of July, 1792, the conduct and diſpoſition of the court indicating hoſtile deſigns, every one talked of the means of preventing or fruſtrating their execution. On this ſubject Chabot ſaid, with that ardour which proceeds from a heated imagination, and not from ſtrength of mind, that it was to be wiſhed that the court might attempt the lives of ſome of the patriotic members, as it would infallibly cauſe an inſurrection of the people, the only mean of ſetting the multitude in motion, and producing a ſalutary criſis. He grew warm on this head, on which he made a copious comment. Grangeneuve, who had liſtened to him without ſaying a word, in the little ſociety where the diſcourſe took place, embraced the firſt opportunity of ſpeaking with Chabot in private. 'I have been ſtruck with your reaſons,' ſaid he: 'they are excellent: but the court is too cunning ever to afford us ſuch an expedient. We muſt make it for ourſelves. Find you but men to ſtrike the blow; and I will devote myſelf as the victim.'—'What! you will * * * * ?'—'Certainly. What is there ſo wonderful in that? My life is of no great utility: my perſon of little account: I ſhall feel the greateſt pleaſure in offering myſelf up as a ſacrifice for my country's good.'——'Ah, my friend, you ſhall not

ot fall alone:' exclaimed Chabot, with a look of enthuſiaſm: 'I am determined to ſhare the glory with you.'—'As you pleaſe: *one* is enough: *two* may be better. But there will be no glory in the buſineſs; for it is neceſſary that it remain a ſecret to all the world. Let us then deviſe the means of execution.'

Chabot undertook to provide them; and a few days after informed Grangeneuve, that he had found fit inſtruments for the purpoſe, and that every thing was prepared. —'Very well: let us appoint the time. We will repair to the committee to-morrow evening: I will leave it at half after ten: we muſt go through ſome unfrequented ſtreet, in which you will take care to have your people poſted. But let them mind what they are about. It is their buſineſs to ſhoot us properly, and not to make us cripples for life.' —The hour was fixed, and every thing was agreed upon. Grangeneuve went to make his will, and arrange ſome domeſtic concerns, without any buſtle; and was punctual to the appointment. Chabot did not make his appearance. The hour elapſed, and no Chabot came; whence Grangeneuve concluded he had given up his deſign of participation; but ſuppoſing that the project held good as to himſelf, he ſet off, took the road agreed on, walked with meaſured ſteps, met nobody on his way, walked back again, for fear of any miſtake, and was obliged to return home ſafe and ſound, much diſpleaſed at having made all his preparations in vain. Chabot ſaved himſelf from reproach by ſome paltry excuſe, taking good care not to depart from the uſual poltroonery of a prieſt, or the hypocriſy of a capuchin friar.

Barbaroux,

Whose features no painter would diſdain to copy for the head of an Antinous, active, laborious, ingenuous, and brave, with the fiery ſpirit of a youthful Marſeillois, was deſtined to become a man of merit, and a citizen, equally uſeful and enlightened. Enamoured of independence, proud of the revolution, rich in acquired talents, capable of aſſiduous attention, habituated to application, and thirſting after fame; he is one of thoſe men, whom a great politician would ſeek to attach to himſelf, and who was made to flouriſh and diſtinguiſh himſelf in a happy republic. But who can venture to ſay to what a degree injuſtice, proſcription, and misfortune, may repreſs the generous efforts of ſuch a mind, and how far it may tarniſh its good qualities? Moderate ſucceſs would have encouraged Barbaroux in his career, becauſe he is fond of fame, and poſſeſſes every qualification neceſſary to procure him reputation: but the love of pleaſure is at hand; and if once it take the place of glory, in conſequence of diſappointment or diſguſt, it will debaſe an excellent temper, and turn him aſide from his noble deſtination.

During Roland's firſt adminiſtration, I had an opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral letters from Barbaroux, addreſſed rather to the man than to the miniſter, and intended to enable him to judge of the means it would be proper to employ, in order to keep ardent and irritable minds, like thoſe of the department of the mouths of the Rhone, in the paths of duty. Roland, a ſtrict obſerver of the law, and like the law ſevere and inflexible, was incapable of

ſpeaking

ſpeaking more than one language, when charged with its execution. The adminiſtrators had gone a little aſtray: the miniſter had chidden them with ſeverity; and their minds were irritated. It was then that Barbaroux wrote to Roland, to vindicate the purity of his countrymen's intentions, excuſe their errors, and to make Roland underſtand, that gentler methods would bring them back to ſubordination with greater ſpeed and effect. Theſe letters were dictated by the beſt intentions, and by ſuch conſummate prudence, that when I ſaw their author, I was aſtoniſhed at his youth. They had the effect they could not fail to have upon an equitable man, who ſought only to do good: Roland laid aſide a little of his auſterity, aſſumed a tone rather brotherly than miniſterial, brought the Marſeillois back to their duty, and gave Barbaroux his eſteem.

After Roland quitted the miniſtry, we ſaw him more frequently. His open diſpoſition and ardent patriotiſm inſpired us with confidence. It was then, that, reaſoning on the bad ſtate of affairs, and on the danger of ſeeing deſpotiſm revive in the north, we formed the conditional project of a republic in the ſouth.—'That will be our laſt ſtake,' ſaid Barbaroux with a ſmile: 'but the Marſeillois who are here will prevent our recurring to ſuch an expedient.'—From that ſpeech, and ſome others of a like tendency, we conjectured, an inſurrection was in agitation; but as his confidence did not lead him to be more communicative, we aſked him no queſtions about the matter. Towards the latter end of July, he almoſt entirely diſcontinued his viſits; telling us, the laſt time he called, it would be wrong to judge of his ſentiments in regard to us from any preſumption furniſhed by his

abſence, as it was merely meant to keep us out of harm's way. After the tenth of Auguſt he returned to Marſeilles, and came back a member of the national convention, where he did his duty like a man of courage. Many of his printed ſpeeches diſplay excellent argumentation, and conſiderable knowledge of the adminiſtrative department of commerce: that on the ſupply of proviſions, excepting the work of Creuze-la-Touche, is the beſt thing of the kind. But it would be neceſſary for him to labour if he would become an orator.

The lively and affectionate Barbaroux is attached to the delicate and ſuſceptible Buzot: I uſed to call them Nyſus and Euryalus. May they meet with a better fate than thoſe two friends! Louvet, more acute than Barbaroux, more gay than Buzot, and in goodneſs of heart equal to either, is intimate with both; but more particularly with the latter, who ſerves as a link to connect him with Barbaroux, of whom Buzot's natural gravity makes him in ſome ſort the Mentor.

Louvet,

With whom I became acquainted during Roland's firſt adminiſtration, and whoſe agreeable ſociety I ſhall ever covet, may ſometimes chance, like Philopœmen, to pay forfeit for his mean appearance. Little, ſlender, ſhort-ſighted, and negligent in dreſs, he ſeems of no conſequence to the vulgar, who remark not the nobleneſs of his forehead, nor the fire which animates his eyes and

and features upon the utterance of an important truth, a generous ſentiment, a witty ſaying, or a refined piece of raillery. His pleaſing novels, where the graces of imagination are combined with fluency of ſtyle, philoſophical remarks, and attic ſalt, are known to all men of letters, and to all perſons of taſte. Politics are indebted to him for more ſerious works, the matter and manner of which bear witneſs alike to the goodneſs of his head and of his heart. He has ſhewn, that his able hand can alternately jingle the bells of folly, hold the *burin* of hiſtory, and launch the thunders of eloquence. It is impoſſible to unite more wit with leſs pretenſion and greater good-nature. Bold as a lion, ſimple as a child, a man of feeling, a good citizen, and a vigorous writer; he can make Cataline tremble in the ſenate, dine with the graces, and ſup with Bachaumont *.

His Philippic, or *Robeſpierride*, deſerved to be pronounced in a ſenate poſſeſſed of energy to do juſtice. His *Conſpiracy of the* 10*th of* *March* is another piece of value to the hiſtory of the times. His *Sentinel* is a pattern for that kind of bills, and daily inſtructions intended for a populace, whom it is meant to inform as to facts, without ever influencing them unleſs by the force of reaſon, moving them unleſs for the good of all, or inſpiring them with any affections but ſuch as do honour to human nature. It is an excellent contraſt to thoſe atrocious and diſguſting papers, whoſe coarſe ſtyle and filthy expreſſions are well ſuited to the ſanguinary

* A famous French wit, who, in concert with la Chapelle, wrote a celebrated account, in proſe and verſe, of an excurſion they made together.—*Tranſ.*

doctrine and impure falſehood for which they ſerve as a common-ſewer; the impudent works of calumny, of which intrigue pays the hire to impoſture, in order to complete the ruin of public morals, and by means of which the gentleſt people in Europe has had its diſpoſition perverted to ſuch a degree, that the peaceable Pariſians, whoſe kindneſs of heart was proverbial, are become the rivals of thoſe ferocious pretorian guards, who ſold their votes, their lives, and the empire, to the beſt bidder. Let us diſmiſs theſe ſad images, and turn our attention to the *Obſervations on St. Juſt's Report againſt the confined Deputies, by a Society of Girondines*, printed at Caen the 13th of July. In it I recognized the ſtyle, the acumen, and the gaiety, of Louvet: it is Reaſon in diſhabille, ſporting with Ridicule, without laying aſide her ſtrength or dignity.

Lazowski,

A Polander by birth, came to France no one knows how, deſtitute of all fortune; but being rich in the intereſt of the duke of Liancourt, either becauſe related to ſome perſon in his ſervice, or becauſe connected with him in ſome other way, Lazowſki obtained the appointment of inſpector of manufactures.

It was one of thoſe very inferior offices of adminiſtration which conferred no authority; of which the ſalary was moderate, and the duties ſuch as to require nothing but

but honeſty, and a certain ſhare of merit; which conſequently ſeemed to ſuit every body, or for which every one at leaſt thought himſelf fit. Thoſe places were in the gift of the king's council, on the preſentation of the miniſter of the finances, and were ſubordinate to the ſuperintendants of trade, petty magiſtrates of mighty pretenſions, who gave themſelves great airs of importance; who like many others obtained credit from the public on their own report; and who in reality, from the multitude of affairs that came before them, had extenſive connections, and gave audiences, at which, ſometimes, men of the firſt rank did not diſdain to attend.

Lively, enterpriſing, and paſſing himſelf off for a man of underſtanding, Lazowſki had perſuaded his patron, that it was not fitting for ſuch a man to remain a ſimple inſpector of manufactures. It is true, that, in order to find him employment, an inſpectorſhip had been created at Soiſſons, where there was ſcarcely any manufacture but of prieſts, and ſcarcely any objects of inſpection except nuns; for it was a town as full of convents as deficient in induſtry, and deſtitute of all commerce but that of the abſolute neceſſaries of life. Mr. de Liancourt, who was led to deſire the promotion of his dependant by the vanity common among courtiers, was further impelled by the native excellence of his heart. He was preſſing with the miniſter, and ſtill more ſo with the ſuperintendants of commerce; for the ſecondary agents are always the really effective men. Calonne was comptroller-general: he had an inventive mind, and was ready at taking up ingenious ideas. The creation of a travelling inſpectorſhip was deviſed. That was no effort of

genius, ſince ſuch a place had already exiſted, and its inutility had been acknowledged: but it will readily be admitted, that the ſecond creation was not without a motive, ſince it afforded the means of obliging a man of conſequence, while the number of places, which amounted to four, gave the operation ſomething of the appearance of an affair of ſtate, to ſay nothing of the advantage of three places remaining for favour and intrigue. They were ſoon filled. Salaries of 8000 livres (333l. 6s. 8d.) a year were given them; a reſidence in Paris for four months out of the twelve; excurſions through the provinces during the remaining eight; the right of ſucceeding the inſpectors-general on their deceaſe, and permiſſion to ſolicit gratifications in proportion to the length of their journies and the importance of their ſervices. It is true, that this ſapped the foundation of an inſtitution, the ſpirit of which was excellent. It deprived the inſpectors of the generalities of the hope of arriving at the inſpector-generalſhip by merit or ſeniority: it diſcouraged them, by ſending into their reſpective departments men for the moſt part ſtrangers to the buſineſs: and it deprived the miniſter of the poſſibility of being well-informed of the ſtate of arts, manufactures, and commerce; and in ſhort of all the objects of induſtry; of which it was natural to expect a much better account from men ſettled in the ſeveral generalities for that purpoſe, than from theſe birds of paſſage, employed in running over them all. But the views of the old government did not extend ſo far: and who knows whether the individuals who compoſe the new, are of a more capacious mind, or more diſintereſted ſpirit.

This happened in the ſpring of 1784, when I was brought

to

Paris by family affairs. I heard mention made of a change in the inſpections; and I learnt, that the inſpectorſhip of Lyons, given up by the ambitious Briſſon for a travelling one, was conferred upon a very young man. I reflected, that Roland was always looking forward to his retirement, and intended to aſk for it, as ſoon as he ſhould finiſh his labours in the Encyclopedia, that he might go into his own country, forget Paris, and the meanneſſes to which a man muſt ſtoop for the preferment that was refuſed to merit. I thought it would be better for him to go home with a place, than without one; and it occurred to me, to ſolicit the exchange of that of Amiens, where we then were, for that of Lyons, which would fix him in his own country. This trifling favour I ſuppoſed would be readily granted to an old ſervant, whoſe knowledge, and whoſe diſpoſition eſpecially, the ſuperintendants of commerce dreaded enough to be pleaſed with his removal. The commiſſions were already made out. I ſtated my reaſons with all the advantage a woman had in thoſe days in dealing with people who piqued themſelves on their politeneſs: on the other hand were ſtated the objections, which I frankly rated at their due value; and I obtained the place, almoſt as ſoon as my huſband was informed of the requeſt I had thought fit to make.

In the public offices who ſhould I meet with but Lazowſki, then a fine gentleman, his hair well powdered, his clothes well put on, affecting a little ſtoop in his ſhoulders, walking upon his heels, ſporting deep ruffles, giving himſelf, in ſhort, thoſe little airs of conſequence, which were then taken for claims to conſideration by fools, and laughed at by men of ſenſe.

The

The conſtituent aſſembly, by overthrowing the m
bility and ſuppreſſing the inſpectorſhips, deprived L
zowſki at once of his place and of his patron. N
daring to hope for a penſion, which muſt have been r
duced to nothing *, conſidering the ſhort time he h
been employed, and finding himſelf without a ſhilling, h
became a patriot, combed the powder out of his grea
locks, made ſpeeches at one of the ſections, and turne
ſans-culotte in good time, ſince he was really in dange
of wanting breeches.

Poſſeſſed of vigour, conſiderable remains of youth, a
thundering voice, and an excellent turn for intrigue, he
ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and was appointed a *capitaine de quartier* in the national guard. In that quality he
ſerved on the 10th of Auguſt, and boaſted much of the
dangers of the day, like many others who mixed in the
tumult to reap ſome profit, and afterward ſtood boldly
forward as the ſaviours of their country. But his exploits date from the 2d of September, and from the activity he contrived to keep up in the ſection of Finiſtere,
to which he belonged, at the maſſacre of the prieſts at
St. Firmin. He was of equal utility in diſpatching the
priſoners from Orleans.

He had occaſion to come, as deputy of his ſection, to
the hotel of the miniſter of the home department, where I
ſaw him, and had an opportunity to obſerve his aſtoniſhing
metamorphoſis. The pretty gentleman, with his affected

* In ſettling the amount of penſions for diſcarded placemen, the conſtituent aſſembly eſtabliſhed a maximum and minimum, with intermediate degrees, according to their length of ſervice; but gave nothing to thoſe who had not been employed a certain number of years. *Tranſ.*

ſmiles,

les, had assumed the savage aspect of a furious pa-
t; the purple face of a drunkard; and the haggard
of an assassin.

Dear to the jacobins, who well knew his worth, and
ant to make him a great man, he was fixed upon to
ect the conspiracy of the 10th of March; but he died
denly, at Vaugirard, of an inflammatory fever, the
t of debauchery, brandy, and bad hours.

Who has not heard of the grief of the whole horde at
s unexpected loss; of the funeral oration delivered by
high-priest Robespierre, his affecting lamentations,
d his pompous eulogium of the *great man unknown*;
the splendid funeral celebrated by the venerable com-
une, and the holy societies; of the adoption of his
ild, whom papa Pache kissed in the town-hall; and,
stly, of Lazowski's interment near the tree of liberty,
the square of the Carrouzel, where his humble grave,
overed with turf, is still to be seen?

Let those who are astonished at his posthumous im-
ortance, recollect, that it emanated from the focus of
he jacobins, when they were become as formidable to
he timid Parisians as they were atrocious; at the time
hat Marat was in all his glory, and Danton in the ple-
itude of his power.

Assuredly the people who took the former for their
prophet, and the latter for their lord, might well honour
Lazowski as a *saint* or a *hero*, which in the religion of the
Septembrizers are the same thing.

ROBERT.

Robert.

'What have you done to Robert?' ſaid a perſon to me lately: 'his wife and he revile you more virulently than any of your enemies.'—'I have ſeen but little of them; I have done them ſome ſervice; but I have not concurred in flattering their ambition, as you are about to hear.'

When I was ſetting off from Lyons for Paris, in 1791, Champagneux aſked me, if I was acquainted with madame Robert, a woman of wit, an author, and a patriot.—Not at all. I have heard indeed that mademoiſelle *Keralio*, whoſe father is a literary man, was lately married to M. Robert, and that between them they compoſe the *Mercure national*, of which I have ſeen a few numbers. This is all I know about her.'——'Do you wiſh to ſee her? If you do, I will give you a letter to her; for as fellow journaliſts we correſpond.'—'A woman of wit, an author, and a republican, muſt be well worth ſeeing. Give me a letter.'

I arrived at Paris, and had been there ſix weeks, when one of our friends, happening to mention madam Robert, whom he had occaſion to viſit, I recollected that I had a letter for her. I told him ſo: he offered to accompany me to the houſe: and thither we went.

I found a lively little woman of genteel addreſs, and high ſpirit, who gave me a very pleaſing reception: and there I found alſo her clumſy huſband with a face as broad as a well-ſtalled prieſt's, beaming health and ſelf-complacency, and with cheeks whoſe ruddy tinge no

profound cogitation had ever impaired. They re-
ned my viſit; and there I ſuffered our acquaintance
reſt. The 17th of July, on my return from the
cobins, where I had been witneſs to the agitation pro-
ced by the mournful events of the Champ-de-Mars,
om ſhould I find at home, at eleven at night,
t M. and madam Robert.—'We are come,' ſaid
e wife to me, with all the confidence of an old friend,
o aſk you for an aſylum. It is not neceſſary to be
en in your company, to form a favourable opinion
your patriotiſm, and of the goodneſs of your heart:
y huſband was drawing up the petition on the na-
onal altar, and I was by his ſide: we have eſcaped
e ſlaughter, and dare not take refuge in our own
ouſe, nor in that of any known friend, where ſearch
ay be made for us.'—'I am much obliged to you,'
plied I, 'for having thought of me on ſo lamentable
occaſion, and am proud of affording a ſhelter to
e perſecuted: but you will be badly concealed here;'
(I was then at the *Hotel Brittannique, Rue Guenegaud*)
this houſe is much frequented, and the landlord is a
reat partiſan of Lafayette.'—'It is only for to-night:
o-morrow we will think of a retreat.'

I ſent to inform the miſtreſs of the hotel, that a
inſwoman of mine having arrived at Paris at the very
moment of tumult, had left her baggage at the coach-
office, and would paſs the night with me; and that I
therefore requeſted her to make up a couple of field-beds
in my apartment. They were accordingly ſpread in a
parlour, and there our huſbands lay, while madame Robert
ſlept in my huſband's bed, by the ſide of mine, in my own
room. The next morning, I roſe early, and haſtened to

write letters, to my diſtant friends, to inform them of the events of the preceding evening. M. and madam Robert, whom I ſuppoſed to be very active, and as journaliſts, to have a much more extenſive correſpondence than myſelf, dreſſed themſelves very cooly, ſat chatting after the breakfaſt I had ordered for them, and placed themſelves in the balcony facing the ſtreet. They even went ſo far as to call up a perſon of their acquaintance who was paſſing.

This conduct appeared to me very inconſiſtent in people who were hiding themſelves. The perſon whom they had called up, entered into earneſt converſation with them, concerning the events of the day before; boaſted that he had run his ſword through the body of a national guard; and talked very loudly, though in a room adjoining to a large anti-chamber common to my apartment and to another.

I called madam Robert.—'I received you, madam, with that intereſt, which juſtice and compaſſion for worthy people in danger naturally inſpire; but I cannot give an aſylum to all your acquaintance. You expoſe yourſelf by converſing as you do, in a houſe like this, with a perſon of ſo little diſcretion. I am in the habit of receiving members of the aſſembly, who might ſtand a chance of being brought into trouble, if ſeen to enter this hotel while it contains a perſon who boaſts of having yeſterday committed acts of violence. I beg you will deſire him to withdraw.'—Madam Robert called her huſband; I repeated my obſervations, in rather a higher tone, becauſe it ſeemed to me that the duller perſonage ſtood in need of a ſtronger impreſſion; and the man was diſmiſſed. I learnt that his name

e was Vachard; that he was preſident of a ſociety, ed the indigent club; and much praiſe was beſtowed n his excellent qualities, and ardent patriotiſm. I ld not help lamenting inwardly its being neceſſary ſet a value upon the patriotiſm of a perſon who had ry appearance of what is termed a wrong-headed n, and whoſe heart I ſhould not have imagined to in the right place. I have ſince been informed that was one of the hawkers of Marat's paper, that he never learnt to read, and that he is now an admi- ſtrator of the department of Paris, where he makes very good figure among his fellows.

It was noon; and M. and madam Robert talked of ing home, where every thing muſt needs be in con- ſion. I told them, that ſuch being the caſe, if they ould take a dinner with me before they went, I would der it at an early hour. They replied, they would ther return, and engaged themſelves accordingly as ey were going out of the room. Before three o'clock ey made their appearance again in full dreſs: the ife had long plumes upon her head and plenty of ouge upon her cheeks: the huſband had put on a ſuit ſky-blue ſilk, with which his black hair, hanging own his ſhoulders in large curls, formed a ſingular con- raſt: a long toledo by his ſide, added every thing to his reſs, that could ſerve to make him remarkable.— 'Why, my god!' ſaid I to myſelf: 'are theſe people mad?' and I liſtened to their diſcourſe, to ſatisfy my- ſelf, that their brains were not really turned. The fat nd portly Robert ate wonderfully well; and his wife prattled to her heart's content. At length they took eave, nor did I ever ſee them, or ſpeak of them af- terwards to any body.

On our return to Paris the following winter, Robert meeting Roland at the Jacobins, made him ſome civil reproaches, or polite complaints, on account of our having broken off all intercourſe with them; and his wife came ſeveral times to call upon me, inviting me in the moſt preſſing manner to go to her houſe, where ſhe received company twice a week, and where I ſhould be ſure to meet with meritorious members of the legiſlature. I went once, and there I found Antoine, with whoſe mediocrity I was well acquainted, a little man, well enough to put upon a toilette, and a pretty poetaſter, writing agreeably upon trifling ſubjects, but deſtitute of every thing like ſpirit or conſiſtency. There I found alſo ſeveral other members, ſworn patriots, and ſeveral women of *ardent* civiſm, who with ſome honourable members of the fraternal ſociety, completed a circle which ſuited me little, and to which I never returned.

A few months afterwards Roland was called to the adminiſtration of public affairs. Four-and-twenty hours had ſcarcely paſſed, when I ſaw madam Robert walk into my apartment.—'So, your huſband is in place: well, as patriots ought to ſerve one another, I hope you will not forget mine.'—'I ſhould be very happy, madam, to render you any ſervice; but I do not know how far it may be in my power: M. Roland, however, will no doubt attend to the intereſt of the public by employing perſons of capacity. In four days time, madam Robert returned to pay me a morning viſit; and, in a few days after, another, always inſiſting upon the neceſſity of giving her huſband an appointment, and upon his being entitled to one by virtue of his patriotiſm. I informed madam Robert,

obert, that the minister of the home-department had kind of places in his gift, except those in his own office, which were all filled: that, notwithstanding the dvantages which might accrue from changing some his agents, it behoved a prudent man to study things and persons, previous to alterations, lest the rogress of the public business should be impeded; nd that, from what she had said herself, it did ot seem likely her husband would accept a clerk's lace.——'Certainly Robert is qualified for some-hing better.'—'In that case, the minister of the ome-department can do nothing to serve you.'—'But e can speak to the minister of foreign affairs, and get ome mission for Robert.'—'I believe that it is contrary o the strictness of M. Roland's principles to solicit any hing, or to interfere in the departments of his colleagues: but as you probably mean nothing more than the bearing witness to your husband's civism, I will mention it to mine.'

Madame Robert laid close siege to Dumouriez and Brissot: and three weeks after, returned to tell me, that the former had given her a promise, which she begged me to remind him of, whenever he might chance to come in my way.

In the course of that week he came to dine with me, Brissot and several other persons being present.—'Have you not promised a certain very pressing lady,' said I to Dumouriez, 'to give her husband a place? She has requested me to remind you of it; and so great is her solicitude, that I shall not be sorry to be able to quiet her with respect to myself, by telling her, that I have done what she desired.'—'Is it

not Robert you mean?' asked Brissot immediately. —'It is.'—'Aye!' resumed he, addressing himself to Dumouriez, with his usual simplicity: 'you ought to give that man an appointment. He is a sincere friend of the revolution, a strenuous patriot, and not very easy in his circumstances: the reign of liberty ought to be beneficial to its friends.'—'What?' said Dumouriez, interrupting him, with great good-humour and vivacity, 'are you speaking of that little black-headed man, as broad as he is long? I have no inclination, faith, to disgrace myself; and should be sorry to send such a blockhead any where.'——'But,' replied Brissot, 'in the number of agents you have occasion to employ, all do not require equal capacity.'—'Pray, are you well acquainted with this Robert?' said Dumouriez.—'I am very well acquainted with Keralio, his wife's father, a man of infinite respectability, and at his house I have seen Robert. I know he is accused of a few follies; but I believe him to be an honest man, possessed of an excellent heart, actuated by the true spirit of patriotism, and standing in need of employment.'—'I employ no such madmen.'—'But you promised his wife?'—'Certainly: an inferior place, with a salary of a thousand crowns; which he refused. Do you know what she asks? the embassy to Constantinople.'—'The embassy to Constantinople!' exclaimed Brissot, with a laugh: 'impossible!'—'It is fact, however.'—'I have nothing more to say.'—'Nor I,' added Dumouriez: 'except, that I will order that hogshead to be rolled into the street, the next time he comes, and shut my door in his wife's face.'

Madame Robert returned once more to the charge. I wished

wiſhed much to get rid of her without coming to a
arrel, and could find but one way that was conſiſtent
th my natural frankneſs. As ſhe complained bitterly
Dumouriez, on account of his tardineſs, I told her
had ſpoken to him; and that I thought it incumbent
me to let her know ſhe had enemies, who propagated
reports concerning her; that I would adviſe her
trace them to their ſource, and deſtroy them, in order
at a man in a public capacity might not expoſe him-
lf to the detraction of the malevolent, by employing
perſon who was the object of unfavourable prejudices;
nd that for the above purpoſe nothing was wanting but
explanation, which I exhorted her to give. Madame
obert repaired to Briſſot, who ingenuouſly told her,
at ſhe had been guilty of great folly in aſking for an
mbaſſy, and that people with ſuch ill-founded preten-
ons might expect, in the end, to get nothing at all.

We ſaw her no more: but her huſband wrote a pam-
hlet againſt Briſſot, to denounce him as a diſtributor of
laces, and a deceiver, who had promiſed him the em-
aſſy to Conſtantinople, and then forfeited his word.
He entered into the club of Cordeliers, courted an
cquaintance with Danton, ſubmitted to be his clerk
hen the latter became miniſter on the 10th of Auguſt,
as puſhed by him into the electoral body, and into the
eputation from Paris to the convention, paid his debts,
ived expenſively, gave entertainments to d'Orleans, and
thouſand others, is now rich, calumniates Roland, and
landers his wife. All this is eaſily conceivable: he fol-
ows his trade, and earns his ſalary.

Champfort and Carra.

Champfort, a man of letters, living in the faſhionable world, familiar with the great people of the old government, and connected with men of talents who have made a figure in the revolution, is acquainted with the court and the city, with characters and intrigues, with politics and mankind, ſtill better than with the age in which he lives.

Champfort partook of that extreme confidence, with which I have always reproached the philoſophers who have acted a part in the new order of things. He could not believe in the aſcendancy of a few wrong-headed fellows, nor in the confuſion they would find means to create.—'You carry things to an extreme,' he would ſay to me ſometimes: 'becauſe, placed in the centre of movement, you ſuppoſe its ſphere of action extenſive. It appears to you to be violent; and you therefore conſider it as formidable. Theſe fellows will ruin themſelves by their own intemperance: they will never be able to extinguiſh the light of eighteen centuries.'—*Theſe fellows* rule however; and Champfort is now a priſoner, with all thoſe who will not idolize their power.

A great ſtock of wit, a tolerable portion of morality, the graces of good breeding, the acquirements of literature, and the philoſophy of a ſound and cultivated underſtanding, rendered Champfort's converſation equally ſolid and entertaining. At firſt I thought he talked too much; and I accuſed him of that exuberance of ſpeech, and that ſort of preponderance, which our men of letters very commonly aſſume. I liked him better in a ſelect ſociety

ciety of five or ſix perſons, than in a mixed company f fifteen or twenty, of which I had to do the honours. ut after all, I could not help forgiving him for ſpeaking ore than any body elſe, becauſe he afforded me more muſement: he abounds in thoſe happy ſallies, which roduce the rare effect of making you laugh and think t the ſame time.—'Do you believe Champfort to be a horoughly ſincere patriot?' ſaid, one day, a man of nore than Spartan auſterity.—'Let us not miſunderſtand ne another,' replied I. 'Champfort's views are good, nd his judgment excellent: he has a ſound underſtand-ng, and is never wrong as to principles: he acknow-edges and reveres thoſe of public freedom, and human appineſs, nor will he betray them. But would he ſa-rifice to them his peace, his enjoyments, and his life? That, indeed, is quite a different queſtion; on which, I believe, he would take time to deliberate.'—'It is plain hen that he is not a virtuous man.'—'Why he is vir-tuous, as Ninna was chaſte: and amidſt the corruption which preys on our vitals, it would be lucky for us if we had many ſuch virtuous men.'—Our hypocrites and enthuſiaſts could never be brought to underſtand that men ſhould be employed according to the compound ratio of their talents and civiſm, ſo that they ſhould be intereſted in employing the former to the advantage of the latter. I have ſeen Servan in a rage on finding ex-cellent engineers, whom he had employed in the camp near Paris, diſmiſſed, under pretence of their not being ardent republicans, while ſturdy patriots, ſo completely ignorant as not to know how to draw a line, were put in their place.—'I would not ſend for them,' ſaid he very juſtly, 'to give their opinions on a form of go-

vernment: but I am convinced they will ſerve *him* well who knows how to employ them. We are in want of *redoubts*, and not of *motions*.'—That was being too rational: it was talking like the *faction of ſtateſmen*; and thus it was, men of intellect acquired the title of *conſpirators*.

When Roland was recalled to the miniſtry on the 10th of Auguſt, it was neceſſary to change the director of the national library. That place was held by one *d'Ormeſſon*, whoſe name gave umbrage to the new government, and whoſe mediocrity left no room for regret. The miniſter of the home department thought of dividing the duties of librarian between two perſons; of reducing the ſalary from twelve thouſand livres [£.500] a year to eight [333l. 6s. 8d.]; and of making it a rule to have the library open every day; ſo that the public would be a gainer, on the ſcore of inſtruction; the nation, on that of œconomy; and the government, by the employment of two uſeful men. In the choice of perſons, he fixed on Champfort, who, as a man of letters and a philoſopher, had openly declared for the revolution; and on Carra, already employed in the library, whoſe extreme zeal, if not his talents, ſeemed to entitle him to that reward. He had never ſeen either of them, and was determined ſolely by thoſe conſiderations, to which was ſuperadded, the neceſſity of making a choice agreeable to the public. I received the viſits of both of them, in conſequence of their appointment, and their neceſſary intercourſe with the miniſter of the home department; and I ſhould have continued to ſee Champfort with pleaſure, if circumſtances had not kept us at a diſtance from each other.

Carra,

Carra, when he became a deputy, appeared to me a very good kind of man, with a very indifferent head. It is impoſſible to be more enthuſiaſtic in favour of the revolution, liberty, and a commonwealth; or a worſe judge of men and things. Giving way entirely to his imagination; making his calculations accordingly, inſtead of grounding them upon facts; arranging in his mind the intereſts of foreign powers in the way that beſt ſuited our ſucceſs; and ſeeing every thing in the moſt flattering point of view, he talked of his country's happineſs, and the emancipation of all Europe, with inexpreſſible complacency. It cannot be denied, that he contributed greatly to our political commotions, and to the inſurrections of which the object was the overthrow of tyranny. His *Annals* ſucceeded wonderfully with the populace, by means of a certain prophetic ſtyle, which always has weight with the vulgar. When we behold ſuch a man brought to trial, as a traitor to the republic, we are tempted to aſk, whether Robeſpierre be not doing the work of Auſtria. But it is evident, that he is labouring for himſelf; and that, in his inſatiate ambition to paſs for the ſole deliverer of France, he would wiſh to annihilate all thoſe who have gained any thing like fame or reputation in the ſervice of their country.

Dorat-Cubieres

Is a name I had ſo often ſeen in the *Almanac of the Muſes*, and other compilations of equal importance, that

I could not help laughing, when I found it connected with the title of ſecretary-regiſter of the municipality. It ſeemed an abſurdity; and ſo indeed it was. Cubières, faithful to that double character of inſolence and baſeneſs, which his forbidding countenance wears in a ſupreme degree, preaches ſans-culotiſm as he hailed the graces, writes verſes upon Marat as he did upon Iris, and ſanguinary, as he was before apparently amorous, without feeling any impulſe of the paſſions, he proſtrates himſelf humbly before the idol of the day, be it Venus or be it Tantalus. Provided he creep through life, and get bread, what can it ſignify how; yeſterday it was by writing "a ſonnet to his miſtreſs's eye-brow," to-day it is by copying a report, or ſigning an order of police.

Getting, ſomehow or other, admiſſion into my houſe, when my huſband was miniſter, I knew him only as a wit, and had an opportunity of ſhewing him ſome little civility. He dined with me twice: the firſt time I thought him odd; the ſecond, inſupportable: an inſipid ſycophant, a fulſome flatterer, ſtupidly conceited, and meanly polite; he is more at variance with good ſenſe and reaſon than any other being I ever ſaw. I ſoon felt the neceſſity of giving to my open manner that air of ſolemnity which lets a perſon, of whom we wiſh to get rid, know what he has to do. Cubières took the hint; but ſome time after he wrote to me notwithſtanding, to beg permiſſion to introduce a prince, who was deſirous of being admitted to my acquaintance. He dwelt on the title of prince in a manner truly laughable; and added the moſt diſguſting praiſes of my perſon. I anſwered as I uſually do when I wiſh to call people to order without putting them in a paſſion, and to make a

jeſt

ſt of them without giving them a right to complain. s to the prince, and his introduction, I contented myſelf ith obſerving, that, in the retired life I led, a ſtranger o every thing that might be termed a circle, and avoiding company as much as poſſible, I made it a rule to eceive only ſuch perſons as buſineſs, or long habits of friendſhip, made my huſband wiſh to ſee now and then at is table. Cubières ſent me in return excuſes as tedious s his eulogium, and requeſted a ſingle moment to explain himſelf at my feet. I made him no anſwer, nor did I ever throw away a thought upon him, till the day I was apprehended, when I perceived his ſignature to the order of the commune; for there were two: one from the committee of inſurrection of the 31ſt of May, the other from the commune. Both were ſhewn to me, leſt I ſhould object to that of the committee: and yet the latter was the only one exhibited by my guards to the keeper of the Abbey, whither I was conveyed.

The requeſt of Cubières had led me to ſuſpect ſome hidden views of intereſt, and I diverted my huſband at the time by a recital of what had paſſed. I learned afterwards, that the prince of Salm-Kirbourg, the perſon in queſtion, was then importuning the miniſters, in order to obtain from the council an indemnification of ſome ſort or other for his poſſeſſions in Alſace. Hence I concluded that I had gueſſed aright, and that the deſire of ſeeing me had ariſen ſolely from an idea that the new ſyſtem might reſemble the old, when women were prevailed upon to aſk favours of their huſbands. I gave myſelf credit for my conduct, and found in this anecdote a freſh trait of the character of Cubières. It would be

ſerving

ſerving him properly to publiſh his ſervile letters, as contraſts to his affectation of frankneſs and a love of liberty. I ſhould have poſſeſſed curious pieces of that ſort, if I had preſerved all the traſh I have received. How many relations and admirers, of whom I had never heard before, ſprang up all at once, when I became the wife of a miniſter!—As I admitted no company, they wrote to me; and I had quite enough to do to read their letters; which I anſwered briefly and politely, but with great frankneſs, in order to leave them no room to ſuppoſe that I either could or would interfere in any thing, and to convince them of the perfect inutility of paying me compliments, or calling themſelves my relations.

The moſt curious circumſtance is, that ſome of theſe people were angry, and made me very ungracious replies. I remember one M. David, who had planned ſome eſtabliſhment, in favour of which he ſolicited my intereſt. It availed me nothing to anſwer, that he would accompliſh his purpoſe by applying directly to the miniſter; that my interference could be of no uſe; and that I never employed it, as it would be ſetting myſelf up for a judge of matters quite out of my way: he conſidered my principles as abominable, and wrote to me in a very angry ſtile.

Thus in private was I perſecuted for my perſeverance in confining myſelf to my own ſphere; and in public I was aſſailed by envy, as if I had been governing the ſtate. And yet people think it very pleaſing and deſirable to fill places of eminence! No doubt the wife of a good man devoted to the ſervice of the public, who is proud of his virtues, and feels herſelf capable of ſupporting his courage, has her gratifications, and derives enjoyment from

om his glory; but theſe pleaſures are not obtained ratuitouſly, and few are the people who could pay the rice they coſt, without regretting the purchaſe.

ANECDOTES.

When I was brought to the Abbey, the family of Deſilles was ſtill there; but was ſoon after removed to the Conciergerie, whence ſeveral of the perſons concerned in the conſpiracy in Brittany were conducted to the ſcaffold. Angelica Deſilles, the wife of Roland de la Fouchais, the ſimilarity of whoſe name to mine led one of my friends into ſome curious blunders in an attempt to carry me off, was one of the victims. Her ſiſters were acquitted, and ought conſequently to have enjoyed their liberty; but, as a meaſure of general ſafety, they were again taken into cuſtody, and conveyed to St. Pélagie. I found them there, and converſed with them ſeveral times. They were young, amiable, and polite women, the elder of whom, a widow of twenty-ſeven, was neither deſtitute of perſonal charms nor energy of mind; the younger was in a very precarious ſtate of health. At firſt, overwhelmed with grief, they appeared likely to ſink under it: but being both mothers of helpleſs children, to whom their exiſtence was neceſſary, they called up all their courage.

They mentioned to me repeatedly the baſe treachery of Cheſtel, a man of wit, well known at Paris, where he practiſes

practiſes phyſic, a Breton by birth, who had inſinuated himſelf into the moſt intimate confidence of their father, was acquainted with his wiſhes, and appeared to favour his ſchemes; but, connected at the ſame time with Danton, he received through his means a commiſſion from the executive power, repaired to Brittany, to pay court to his friend, took up his abode at his country houſe, received entertainments from his relations, encouraged his deſigns, and gave them freſh activity by his aſſiſtance. At the moment that appeared moſt convenient, he ſecretly informed againſt him, and ſent for perſons who were in waiting to take him into cuſtody.

Deſilles eſcaped. But all his family were apprehended; his effects were ſealed up, and a ſtrict ſearch was made in all the places which might ſerve to conceal his correſpondence, and which Cheſtel had pointed out. The young women, who ſtill thought him a friend to the family, begged his advice, and implicitly followed his directions. Not knowing what to do with a purſe of two hundred louis intended for their father, they put it into his hands, ordered the beſt horſe in the ſtable to be ſaddled, and preſſed Cheſtel to make his eſcape. He made a ſhew of being determined to ſhare their fate; accompanied them accordingly, but not as a priſoner; and endeavoured to perſuade the commander of the armed force, that had charge of the priſoners, to bring them by day into the great towns. 'Surely you are not in earneſt,' ſaid the officer; 'it would endanger their lives.'

They arrived at Paris. The trial commenced. The name of Cheſtel was eraſed from the correſpondence, becauſe he had diſcloſed the plot; and the poor victims

hen diſcovered the ſerpent they had foſtered in their boſom. Tried, acquitted, detained notwithſtanding, and deſtitute of money, the two young women recollected he purſe of gold. They confided the circumſtance to a man of courage and probity, who went to Cheſtel, and demanded the two hundred louis. Cheſtel, taken by ſurpriſe, at firſt denied the fact; but, terrified at the firmneſs of the demander, who threatened to expoſe him to the eyes of all the world, he ſtammered out a confeſſion of the receipt of half that ſum, and repaid it in aſſignats, but not till after repeated interviews.

Cheſtel, formerly phyſician to madam Elizabeth *, aſſiduous in purſuit of fortune, had in like manner gained the confidence of a wealthy individual, whoſe name I believe to be Paganel, or ſomething like it, and who, among other poſſeſſions, has immenſe eſtates in Limouſin. Paganel, deſirous of emigrating, to ſhelter himſelf from the ſtorms of the revolution, made a fictitious ſale of his property to Cheſtel. He ſet off, and depended upon the income, which was to be remitted to him by his faithful friend; but Cheſtel kept it for himſelf, and enjoys with Danton the pleaſures of an opulence, which both have acquired by ſimilar means.

At length repeated ſolicitations, aſſiſted, perhaps, by more prevailing arguments, procured the two ſiſters their liberty. I ſaw them depart: but I did not know their ſecret on that head. I have juſt ſeen Caſtellane, however, purchaſe his enlargement, at the price of thirty thouſand livres [£.1250], paid to Chabot. Dillon got out of the Magdelonettes in the ſame manner. Both

* The king's ſiſter. *Tranſ.*

were

were involved in the charge of a counter-revolutionary plot. This very moment, Auguſt 22, I have before my eyes a certain Mademoiſelle Briant, a kept girl, who lives at N° 207, *Cloitre Saint-Benoit*, and whoſe keeper is a forger of aſſignats. Having been informed againſt, apparent endeavours were made to apprehend him; but a ſhower of gold poured into the hands of the adminiſtrators. The man who ſends out the armed force employed to ſeek and take him into cuſtody, knows where he is concealed; his miſtreſs is apprehended for form's ſake; the adminiſtrators, who appear to come in order to examine her, bring her accounts of her keeper; and very ſoon they will both enjoy their liberty, ſince they have wherewithal to pay for it.

Fouqier-Tainville, public accuſer to the revolutionary tribunal, notorious for his diſſolute life and impudence in drawing up articles of impeachment without cauſe, is in the habit of receiving money from the perſons accuſed. Madam Rochechouart paid him eighty thouſand livres [£.3333] for Mony the emigrant. Fouqier-Tainville pocketed the ſum; Mony was executed; and madam Rochechouart was given to underſtand that, if ſhe ſaid a word about the matter, ſhe would be inſtantly immured, never more to behold the face of day. Is it poſſible? the reader will exclaim.—Well! hear more. In the hands of a late preſident of the department of the Eure two letters exiſt, from Lacroix the deputy, formerly judge-fiſcal of Anet. One contains an engagement for five hundred thouſand livres [£.20833], to be applied to the purchaſe of national domains: the other is to withdraw the engagement, and ſtop the purchaſe, in conſequence of the decree which obliges members of the convention

ention to account for any increaſe of their fortune ſince the evolution. But this decree has been laid aſleep ſince the roubleſome twenty-two were expelled; and Lacroix oſſeſſes eſtates as well as Danton, after having pillaged the ſame manner.

A Dutchman went lately to the commune of Paris, or a paſſport to enable him to return to his own coun-ry. It was refuſed. The Dutchman made no com-laint; but, ſeeing which way the wind blew, took out is pocket-book, and laid an aſſignat of a hundred crowns pon the deſk. The language was well underſtood, and e received his paſſport.

Here Marat will be quoted to me, in whoſe houſe, at is deceaſe, according to the public papers, no more than ſingle aſſignat of twenty-five ſols [1s. od.½] was found. What edifying poverty! Let us, however, caſt an eye pon his lodgings: it is a lady, who is going to deſcribe hem. Her huſband, a member of the revolutionary ribunal, is confined in the priſon of la Force, for differ-ing in opinion from the ruling powers; and ſhe has been ſent to St. Pélagie, as a meaſure of ſafety, it is ſaid; but probably becauſe the active ſolicitations of this little wo-man from the ſouth were dreaded. She is a native of Toulouſe, and poſſeſſes all the vivacity of the ardent cli-mate under which ſhe firſt drew breath. Being ſtrongly attached to a handſome couſin, ſhe was rendered quite diſconſolate by his apprehenſion, which took place a few months ago. She had given herſelf much pains to no purpoſe, and knew not to whom to apply, when ſhe thought of trying the effect of a viſit to Marat. She aſked to ſpeak with him, and was told he was not at home: but he heard a female voice, and came out of his own

accord. He had boots on, without ſtockings, an old p
of leather breeches, and a white ſilk waiſtcoat. His d
ſhirt, open at the boſom, exhibited his ſkin of yell
hue; while his long and dirty nails diſplayed themſel
at his fingers ends, and his horrid face accorded perfe
with his ſordid dreſs. He took the lady by the han
led her into a parlour newly fitted up, furniſhed w
blue and white damaſk, and decorated with ſilk curta
elegantly drawn up in feſtoons, with a ſplendid chand
lier, and with handſome porcelain jars filled with natu
flowers, then ſcarce, and of high price; ſat down by h
ſide on a voluptuous ſopha; liſtened to her tale; e
preſſed his concern; kiſſed her hand; ſqueezed h
knees a little; and promiſed her, that her couſin ſho
be enlarged.—'I would have let him go any length
liked,' ſaid the little woman, gaily, in her ſouthern a
cent, 'upon condition of his reſtoring me my couſin—
ſhould only have been obliged to bathe myſelf afte
wards.' That very evening Marat went to the com
mittee, and her couſin left the Abbey on the followi
day. But ere four and twenty hours had paſſed, t
friend of the people wrote to the huſband, ſending him
perſon who ſtood in need of a certain favour, which
would not have been ſafe to refuſe.

M. Dumas, a natural philoſopher by profeſſion,
rather a pedant by trade, waited upon the famou
committee of public ſafety, ſome time in the month
June, in order to make ſome very important propoſal
He offered to reconnoitre the army of the rebels in
Vendée, and to give an exact account of its ſituation an
numbers; circumſtances concerning which we have re
mained in the utmoſt ignorance, even ſince the com
mencemen

ncement of the war. M. Dumas undertook to inſpect whole moſt accurately, by taking a bird's eye view it from a balloon.—'Why, indeed, it is an ingenious ought,' ſaid ſome of the profound politicians of the mmittee.—'Yes,' replied citizen Dumas: 'and it y be put into immediate execution. I know of a lloon, which is lying, with all its appendages, in the tel of an emigrant; ſo that the *nation* need not be at the pence of the purchaſe.'—Bravo! He then proceeded to ive the neceſſary information, which was received with anſport, and officially forwarded to the miniſter of the me department, that he might ſend for the balloon ithout delay. The miniſter's people took the field, d made a forced march to the emigrant's hotel. It as an inn, and the apartment he had occupied one little oom, where not a rag remained. A report was made n conſequence; the committee was diſtreſſed beyond eaſure; Dumas was clamorous; and a freſh injunction as laid upon the miniſter, requiring him to make ſtricter earch after the balloon. On this the miniſter held a conſultation with his principal clerk, and deciſive meaures were reſolved upon. A letter was written to the epartment; the department turned the buſineſs over to he municipality; and the municipality referred it to he adminiſtrators of police. Here the matter ended ith the public functionaries; and I laughed heartily at he Abbey with Champagneux, who wrote the miniſteial letter, at the charlatanry of the brazen-faced Dumas, he ſtupidity of the committee, the complaiſance of the iniſter, and the whole of this long litany of follies; but met with the ſequel of the ſtory at St. Pélagie.

Citizen Jubert, one of the adminiſtrators of the police,

and one alſo of thoſe who ſigned the contradictory orders for apprehending and ſetting me at liberty, a true ſection orator, of great corpulence, thundering voice, awkward gait, and forbidding countenance, found out a certain mademoiſelle Lallement, a fine tall girl of fifteen, kept by St. Croix, an emigrant officer, who was a dependent if I recollect aright, of Philip d'Orleans. She was taken up, and ſent to St. Pélagie, and in her apartment were found the cover of a balloon, the net, and every thing elſe belonging to it. This was the very prize deſcribed by Dumas; but the committee had forgotten the expedient; the philoſopher had loſt all hopes of making himſelf of conſequence; the miniſter cared little about the reſult of the orders he had given; and the adminiſtrators had no objection to take poſſeſſion of a thing that was now become valuable.

The youthful Lallement's charms made an impreſſion on the heart of Jubert, who had laid his hands upon ſeveral of her effects, ſeized Sainte-Croix's portrait, and thought her a fool for pretending to be faithful to her keeper. At length imagining, that kindneſs would render her more tractable, he procured an order for her enlargement, came to fetch her in a carriage, conducted her to her lodgings, ordered a dinner, reſtored, with great reluctance, the portrait of Sainte-Croix, of which he had put out the eyes, and then laid claim to his reward. The young girl laughed at his pretenſions, as well as at his way of making love, ſhewed him the door, and repaired to the police-office, to upbraid him publicly with his attempts, and claim the other effects that had been taken away. The adventure made ſome noiſe; but Jubert's colleagues are not likely to condemn it; and it paſſed

ffied along with a multitude of others, ſtill more diſ-
uſt ng or atrocious, of which the legiſlators of the 2d
f June daily ſet the example to all the conſtituted au-
orities.

Auguſt 22.

To-day a miſunderſtanding has broken out between
e tyrants. Hebert, diſſatisfied at not being appointed
iniſter, ſets his father Ducheſne * upon the ringleaders
f the faction, falls foul upon the fortune-making pa-
iots, names Lacroix, and is paving the way for an at-
ck upon Danton. Danton, more villainous than any
f them, but more circumſpect, endeavouring to keep
me meaſure in the conduct of public affairs, is already
yled a *moderé:* the committee of public ſafety ab-
ors his ſociety; the jealous Robeſpierre holds forth
gainſt him; and the *cordeliers* and *jacobins* are on the
oint of coming to a rupture. What a noble ſpectacle
preparing for us miſerable victims: the tygers are
bout to worry one another; and perhaps will forget us,
nleſs agonizing rage impel them to exterminate us all
efore their own defeat.

Chabot is deſirous of tranſporting all ſuſpected per-
ons: of courſe the wives of *Pétion* and *Roland*, confined
nder that appellation, are threatened with a voyage to
ayenne. What a charming deſtination!

* The title of a daily paper replete with oath and vulgarity, of
hich Hebert was the author. *Tranſ.*

September 13.

Do not my ears deceive me?—What! that wretched woman who lived unknown in the very heart of the country, and who came to Paris for the ſole purpoſe of ſoliciting her daughter's enlargement, is condemned to die?—How villanous is ſuch a condemnation!

Pétion's proſcription as a royaliſt, was one of the wonders of the laſt revolution. His wife, whom the ſhafts of calumny had never reached, had retired to Fécamp among her own relations, there to wait in ſilence and retirement for happier days; ſhe was going to ſet off for the ſea-ſide, that her ſon, a fine boy of ten years of age and the ſole fruit of her marriage, might have the benefit of a ſalt-water bath. She was taken up, and impriſoned with her child; and both have ſince been brought to Paris, and confined at St. Pélagie. Daily examples teach the wives of the proſcribed to expect perſecution; and Pétion's has ſufficient ſtrength of mind to ſupport her own misfortunes without murmuring; but the ſituation of her ſon afflicts her, as equally detrimental to his health and education. She was deſirous of trying the effect of ſolicitations; but how could ſhe render them intereſting? How was audience to be obtained?—She wrote to her mother, who lived at Chartres, requeſting her to urge her prayer in ſuch a way as became the feelings of the maternal mind. Her mother came; repaired to the bar of the convention; preſented her petition with a flood of tears; was referred to the committee; and waited upon all the members who compoſed it. Some of them ſeemed to give her hope, but from the greater number ſhe experienced a very unfavourable reception. The inutility of her ſolicitations becoming evident, ſhe reſolved

ſolved to depart, and repaired to her ſection, to get her paſſport ſigned. There ſhe was denounced and taken into cuſtody. She was then carried before the mayor: a man who reſided in the hotel where ſhe had taken up her abode, ſwore to her having ſaid that the French ſtood in need of a king: two hired witneſſes, natives of Liege, and deſerters, gave the like teſtimony; ſhe was condemned to loſe her head, and is now on her way to the ſcaffold.

I ſaw the unfortunate woman ſeveral times, when ſhe came to keep her daughter company. Madam Lefevre was in her fifty-ſeventh year: ſhe had been handſome, and her features ſtill retained ſome traces of their former regularity: ſhe had alſo preſerved an eaſy ſhape, and a beautiful head of hair. As the deſire of pleaſing had occupied the greater part of her life, but had not led her to acquire any accompliſhment, there was nothing about her, but the remains of her former pretenſions, and no ſmall ſhare of ſelf-love, which was perceptible on every occaſion. She had no political opinion: indeed ſhe was incapable of forming one, for ſhe could not reaſon two minutes together on any ſubject whatever. It is poſſible, that, in a converſation excited by ill-deſigning people, ſhe may have ſaid, that ſhe did not care whether there were a king or not, provided there were but peace; or words of a like kind may have been laid hold of, in order to bring her to trial. But who does not perceive in this falſe and atrocious application of the law, an intention to miſlead the people, by making them ſuppoſe the family of Pétion royaliſts, and the perſecution it ſuffers conſequently juſt?

Dreadful days of the reign of Tiberius, we not only ſee your horrors revived, but multiplied in proportion to the number of our tyrants and their favourites! This wretched people, whoſe morals are deſtroyed and whoſe inſtinct is perverted, thirſts after blood; and every thing except juſtice, is employed to ſatisfy its demand. I have ſeen in the priſons, during the four months that I have been their inhabitant, malefactors purpoſely forgotten; and yet what haſte is made to inflict the penalty of death on madam Lefevre, not becauſe ſhe has committed any crime, but becauſe ſhe is guilty of having for her ſon-in-law, the worthy Pétion, whom the tyrants deteſt!

I can conceive nothing more ridiculous than the knaviſh impudence with which the advantages of a conſtitution decreed with equal zeal and rapidity are extolled. But did not the very people, who produced it, decree immediately after, that France was, and remained, in a ſtate of revolution? and may not the conſtitution be conſidered as abortive, ſince no part of it is put in force? What benefit then do we derive from it? It is a dead letter, which ſerves only to atteſt the impudence of thoſe, who wiſh to make a merit of it, without caring whether we taſte the ſweets of it or no.

The multitude who accepted it without examination, merely through weakneſs and indolence, from the hope of ſeeing peace, which they would not take the pains to deſerve, are well rewarded for their apathy. Unfortunately it is with nations and their affairs, as with individuals and their undertakings: the folly and fears of the many lead to the triumph of villany, and to the

e ruin of good men. Posterity will put every one in is place; but it is in the temple of memory. Themistocles died nevertheless in exile, Socrates in prison, and ylla in his bed.

September 26.

The decree, that orders the act of impeachment gainst Brissot to be presented to-morrow, was passed n the same sitting, in which it was proposed to shorten he forms of trial before the revolutionary court, and n which the four sections of that tribunal were organised: so that the means of proceeding to judgment are multiplied, sentence is enjoined to be passed more speedily, and the defence of the accused is circumscribed, at the very moment, when it is resolved to destroy Brissot, and the rest of the imprisoned deputies, that is to say, those men of talents, who might otherwise have confounded their accusers.

Four months have passed, without its having been possible to fabricate that act of accusation, the drawing up of which has been decreed several times over in vain. An increase of power, and the universal sway of terror, were necessary, to enable our tyrants to sacrifice the founders of liberty. But after the arbitrary imprisonment of a fourth part of France, under the appellation of *suspected* persons, has been resolved upon; after a silly people has been inspired with such a furious fanaticism that it demolishes Lyons, as if the second city in the republic belonged to the emperor, and as if those whom it thinks proper to call *muscadines* were wild beasts; after an iron sceptre, held over all

France, has eſtabliſhed the reign of guilt and fear; after a law has been enacted, by virtue of which thoſe who are accuſed, are bound to anſwer ſimply *yes*, or *no*, without making any ſpeech in their defence; then indeed they may venture to ſend to execution thoſe guiltleſs victims, whoſe eloquence was ſtill dreaded, ſo formidable does the voice of Truth appear even to thoſe, who are powerful enough, to refuſe it a hearing.

What care is taken to ſtifle it! But hiſtory ſtands there, and holds a graver in her hand, preparing in ſilence to take a tardy vengeance for the fate of the imitators of Barnevelt and Sidney.

October 4.

I AM reading a daily paper, and there I ſee that Robeſpierre accuſes *Roland* and *Briſſot* of having ſpoken ill of *d'Aubigny*, who ſtole 100,000 livres [£4167] at the Tuileries on the tenth of Auguſt, againſt whom a proſecution was meant to be ſet on foot, and whoſe wife in his abſence brought the 100,000l. to the commune. I ſee that Robeſpierre aſſerts that Roland appointed Reſtout to the ſuperintendance of the jewel-office, in order to pave the way for its being robbed; while in fact it was Pache, who, upon refuſing the place when offered to him by Roland, recommended Reſtout as a proper perſon to fill it. It is a fact alſo, that the hall of the convention reſounded with Roland's complaints againſt the commander of the national guard, for neglecting to poſt ſentries at the jewel-office, notwithſtanding the repeated injunctions of the miniſter of the home department.

That

That Robeſpierre, whom once I thought an honeſt man, is a very atrocious being. How he lies to his own conſcience! How he delights in blood!

Infirmary of St. Pèlagie. October 23.

WITHIN theſe ſolitary walls, where oppreſſed innocence has now dwelt near five months with ſilent reſignation, a ſtranger appears.—It is a phyſician, brought by my keepers for their own tranquillity; for to the ills of nature, as to the injuſtice of man, I neither can nor will oppoſe aught but calmneſs and fortitude. When he heard my name, he ſaid he was the friend of a man, whom perhaps I did not like.—'How can you know that, and who is the perſon you mean?'—'Robeſpierre.'—'Robeſpierre! I once knew him well, and eſteemed him much: I thought him a ſincere and zealous friend of freedom.'—'Why, is he not ſo?'—'I am afraid that he loves power: perhaps from an idea, that he knows how to do good as well as any man, and deſires it no leſs. I am afraid that he is very fond of revenge, and inclined to exerciſe it particularly upon thoſe whom he conſiders as blind to his merit. I believe that he is very ſuſceptible of prejudices; that his reſentment is eaſily excited; and that he is too ready to think every one guilty, who does not ſubſcribe to all his opinions.—You never ſaw him above once or twice in your life!—I have ſeen him much oftener!—Aſk him: let him lay his hand upon his heart; and you will ſee whether he have it in his power to ſay any thing to my diſadvantage.'

Robeſpierre, if I deceive myſelf, I put it in your power

power to convince me of my error. It is to yourſelf that I repeat what I have ſaid of you, and it is to your friend that I mean to deliver this letter, which my keepers will perhaps ſuffer to paſs, for the ſake of the perſon to whom it is addreſſed.

I write not to entreat you, as you may well ſuppoſe. I never yet entreated any one: and moſt aſſuredly I ſhall not begin to do ſo from a priſon, while writing to a man who has me in his power. Prayers become the guilty, or the ſlave: innocence vindicates herſelf, which is quite ſufficient; or complains, as ſhe has a right to do, when the object of perſecution. But even complaints accord not with my diſpoſition; I can ſuffer, and dare look any ſhape of misfortune in the face. Beſides I know that, at the birth of republics, revolutions, which are almoſt inevitable, and which give too great ſcope to the paſſions of mankind, frequently expoſe thoſe who ſerve their country beſt to become the victims of their own zeal, and of the deluſion of their countrymen. They will have a good conſcience for their conſolation, and hiſtory for their avenger.

But by what ſtrange chance is a woman like me, incapable of any thing but wiſhes, expoſed to thoſe ſtorms, which generally burſt upon the heads of none but efficient individuals? And what is the fate that I have to expect? Theſe are two queſtions, which I beg you to reſolve.

I deem them of ſmall importance either in themſelves, or as far as my individual perſon is concerned; for what is a ſingle emmet more or leſs, cruſhed by the foot of the elephant, in the general ſyſtem of the world?

But

but they are of infinite intereſt in regard to the pre-
ent liberty and future happineſs of my country. For if
s declared enemies, and its acknowledged friends and
efenders be indiſcriminately confounded; if the faithful
itizen and generous patriot be treated in the ſame
anner as the man of a corrupt and ſelfiſh ſoul, or the
erfidious ariſtocrate; if the woman of virtue and ſenſi-
ility, who is proud of the freedom of her country, and,
ho in her humble retirement, or in any other ſituation,
akes every poſſible ſacrifice to its welfare, find herſelf
ſociated in puniſhment with the vain or haughty fe-
male, who curſes equality; ſurely juſtice and freedom
do not yet reign, and future happineſs is doubtful.

I ſpeak not here of my venerable huſband. A re-
port ought to have been made of his accounts, when
he firſt gave them in: inſtead of refuſing him juſtice at
firſt, in order to retain the power of accuſing him when
calumny ſhould have deprived him of the public eſteem.
Robeſpierre, I defy you not to believe, that Roland is
an honeſt man. You may be of opinion, that he does
not think juſtly, with reſpect to this or that meaſure:
but your conſcience muſt ſecretly do juſtice to his in-
tegrity and civiſm: he needs to be ſeen little, to be
thoroughly known: his book is always open, and is in-
telligible to every one. He has the ruggedneſs of vir-
tue, as Cato had its aſperity; and has made by the
harſhneſs of his manner as many enemies as by his in-
flexible equity: but theſe inequalities of ſurface diſap-
pear at a diſtance, and the great qualities of the public
man will remain for ever. It has been reported, that
he fanned the flames of civil war at Lyons: and this

pretext

pretext has been brought forward as a reaſon for my apprehenſion! The ſuppoſition was not more juſt than the conſequence. Diſguſted with public affairs, irritated by perſecution, tired of the world, fatigued by his toils, and bending beneath the weight of years, what could he do but conceal his ſorrows in an obſcure retirement, and ſave the unworthy age in which he lives from the commiſſion of a crime?

—He has corrupted the public mind, and I am his accomplice!—This is the moſt curious of all reproaches, of all imputations the moſt abſurd. You cannot wiſh me, Robeſpierre, to take the trouble of refuting them here: the taſk would be too eaſy, eſpecially as you cannot be one of the well meaning people, who believe a ſtory becauſe it is in print, or becauſe they have heard it related. My pretended implication in the guilt would be truly laughable, were not the whole rendered atrocious by the miſty medium through which it is preſented to the people, who, being able to perceive nothing diſtinctly, figure to their imagination a thouſand monſtrous forms. Great muſt be the inclination to injure me of thoſe, who include me in this malicious and premeditated manner, in an accuſation ſtrongly reſembling the charge of high treaſon, ſo often brought forward under the reign of Tiberius, againſt every one who was deſtined to deſtruction, though guilty of no crime. Whence, then, does this animoſity ariſe? It is what I cannot conceive: I, who never injured any one, and who am even incapable of wiſhing evil in return for the injuries I receive.

Brought up in retirement; devoted from my youth to

thoſe

hoſe ſerious ſtudies, which have given ſome degree of nergy to my mind; bleſt with a taſte for ſimple pleaures which no change of circumſtances has been able o pervert; an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the revolution, nd giving way to the energy of the generous ſentiments t inſpires; kept a ſtranger to public affairs by principle as well as by my ſex, but converſing about them with warmth, becauſe the public weal takes the lead of all other concerns as ſoon as it exiſts; I regarded the firſt calumnies invented againſt me as contemptible follies; I deemed them the neceſſary tribute levied by envy upon a ſituation, which the vulgar had ſtill the imbecility to conſider as exalted, and to which I would have preferred the peaceful ſtate, in which I had ſpent ſo many happy days.

Theſe calumnies, however, have increaſed with effrontery proportionate to my calmneſs and ſecurity: I have been dragged to priſon, and have remained there near five months; torn from the embraces of my helpleſs daughter, who can no longer recline her head on that boſom whence ſhe drew her firſt nouriſhment; far removed from every thing dear to me; cut off from all communication with the world; the but of all the rancorous abuſe of a deluded populace, who believe that my death would be conducive to their happineſs; hearing the guards, who watch under my grated window, diverting themſelves with the idea of my puniſhment; and reading the offenſive reproaches caſt upon me by writers, who never ſaw my face, any more than the other perſons of whoſe hatred I am the object.

I have wearied no one with my remonſtrances; I have

have hoped for juſtice, and an end to prejudice, from the hand of time; wanting many things, I have aſked for nothing: I have made up my mind to misfortune, proud of trying my ſtrength with her, and with trampling her under my feet. My neceſſities becoming urgent, and afraid of bringing trouble upon thoſe to whom I might have addreſſed myſelf, I wiſhed to ſell the empty bottles in my cellar, which had not been ſealed up, becauſe it contained nothing of greater value. Immediately the whole town was in an uproar! The houſe was ſurrounded; the proprietor was taken into cuſtody; the guards were doubled; and perhaps I have reaſon to fear for the liberty of a poor ſervant, who is guilty of no crime but that of having ſerved me for the laſt thirteen years with affection, becauſe I took care to render her life comfortable. So much does the people, miſled with regard to me, and deluded by harangues againſt conſpirators, think me deſerving of that name.

It is not, Robeſpierre, to excite your compaſſion, which I am above aſking, and which I ſhould perhaps deem an inſult, that I preſent you with a picture far leſs melancholy than the truth: it is for your inſtruction.

Fortune is fickle; and popular favour is not leſs liable to change. Contemplate the fate of thoſe, who have agitated, pleaſed, or governed the people, from Viſcellinus to Cæſar, and from Hippo, the haranguemaker of Syracuſe, to our Pariſian orators. Juſtice and truth alone remain, and are a conſolation in every misfortune, even in the hour of death itſelf; while nothing can afford a ſhelter from ſtrokes of conſcience

and

nd remorſe. Marius and Sylla proſcribed thouſands of nights, a great number of ſenators, and a multitude of retched men. But could they ſtifle the voice of hiſ- ory, which has devoted their memories to execration? r was content an inmate of their minds?

Whatever be the fate reſerved for me, I will find ourage to undergo it in a manner worthy of myſelf; r to anticipate the ſtroke, as may ſuit me beſt. After he honours of perſecution, do thoſe of martyrdom await ne? am I deſtined to languiſh in protracted captivity, xpoſed to the firſt cataſtrophe, that it may be judged equiſite to bring about? or am I to be ſentenced to ranſportation as it is called, in order to experience, when a ew leagues out at ſea, that trifling negligence on the part of the captain, which rids him of the trouble of his iving cargo, and enriches the waves? Speak! it is omething to know our fate, and a ſoul like mine is capable of looking it in the face.

If you wiſh to be juſt, and attend to what I write, my letter will not be uſeleſs to you, and in that caſe it may poſſibly be of ſervice to my country. But be it as it may, Robeſpierre, I know, and you cannot help feeling, that a perſon, who has known me, cannot perſecute me without remorſe.

ROLAND, formerly *Phlipon*.

Note. The idea of this letter, the care of compoſ- ing, and the intention of ſending it, held their place in my

my mind for four-and-twenty hours: but what effect can my reflections have on a man, who ſacrifices to leagues, of whoſe integrity he is well aſſured?

If my letter were to do no ſervice, it would be ill-timed. It would only embroil me to no purpoſe with a tyrant, who may ſacrifice, but cannot debaſe me. It ſhall not go.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

AN

APPEAL

TO

IMPARTIAL POSTERITY.

PART II.

ROLAND'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

How came Louis XVI. to ſelect for the adminiſtration of public affairs a man like Roland, to whom, an auſtere philoſopher, and a laborious ſtudent, retirement was doubly dear? This will be a queſtion with many people, and it would be one with me, were any other than what I am. I am going to anſwer by facts.

Reſident at Lyons, during the winter, and belonging to the ſcientific and literary academies of that city, Roland was employed by the agricultural ſociety to draw up memoirs for the information of the States General. His principles, and his turn of mind, made him naturally look forward with pleaſure to a revolution which promiſed the reform of ſo many abuſes. The publicity of theſe ſentiments and his well known talents procured him his admiſſion into the electoral body upon the firſt formation of the commune, and his ſubſequent inveſtment with the adminiſtration of the finances of the city, which was deeply involved in debt. Being ſent as a deputy extraordinary to the conſtituent aſſembly, he connected himſelf at Paris with ſeveral of its members, and

with ſome of the perſons who devoted themſelves to the ſtudy of public affairs. He returned home, however, when the ſuppreſſion of his place of inſpector, by changing his deſtiny, obliged him to reflect on the courſe it would become him in future to purſue. The queſtion was, whether he ſhould retire altogether to his eſtate in the country, and employ himſelf in its cultivation; or whether, continuing his literary labours, he ſhould make a journey to Paris, with the double view of collecting materials for that purpoſe, and of enforcing his claims to a penſion, as a reward for thirty years ſervice in his adminiſtrative employ. The latter meaſure was adopted, becauſe it would not prevent his recurring to the other, whenever he ſhould deem it adviſable ſo to do. We returned, then, to Paris on the 15th of December, 1791; but the affairs of the nation at large did not permit us to hope, that the legiſlative aſſembly, which had juſt met, would be ſoon at leiſure to attend to the concerns of a private individual. Roland, intimate with Briſſot, became acquainted with ſeveral of his colleagues in the legiſlative body; and not unfrequently went to the ſociety of Jacobins, with old friends ſettled at Paris, who like him were delighted with a revolution which they eſteemed friendly to liberty, who thought that the ſociety had already been uſeful, and might ſtill help to ſupport a good cauſe.

Roland, content with being a peaceful auditor, never aſcended the tribune to ſpeak. He was known however, not indeed to the illiterate, who had as yet gained no aſcendance, but to many others; and was appointed one of the committee of correſpondence. This committee, of which the functions are indicated by the name, was

was compoſed of a conſiderable number of members, but only a few were actively employed. Roland often came home with a conſiderable packet of letters to anſwer: for though the buſineſs was divided into departments, and particular ones aſſigned to particular members, it became nevertheleſs a matter of neceſſity for the more diligent to take upon themſelves the duty of the reſt, that no part of the correſpondence might remain in arrears.—I read thoſe letters, and often undertook to anſwer them, epiſtolary writing having ever appeared to me ſingularly eaſy and agreeable, becauſe it adapts itſelf to every ſubject, and to every ſtyle alike, giving to diſcuſſion the moſt pleaſing form, and to reaſon all the ſcope it can deſire.—I remarked in moſt of the letters from the departments, a ſtyle exalted and emphatical, ſentiments tinctured with bombaſt, and conſequently with affectation, and in general a deſire of the public good, or the ambition of appearing an ardent patriot. I conſidered that the parent ſociety might exert its influence in diſſeminating good principles, taking care always to confine itſelf to the inſtruction of the people, and to the communication of ſentiments calculated to ſtrengthen the ſocial tye, and conſequently to inſpire the true love of our country, which ought to be only that of human kind, carried to the higheſt pitch in regard to thoſe who live under the ſame laws with ourſelves, and exalted by a diſregard of ſelf-intereſt in the unfrequent, but ſometimes urgent, caſes, which require the greateſt ſacrifices. Perſuaded that a revolution is no better than a terrible, and deſtructive ſtorm, if the improvement of the public mind do not keep pace with the progreſſion of events; and ſenſible of the good

that might be done by taking hold of men's imaginations, and giving them an impulſion towards virtue, I employed myſelf with pleaſure in the correſpondence. The committee gave Roland credit for his induſtry; nor indeed was he idle; but the work of two expeditious perſons muſt neceſſariiy have been great in the eyes of thoſe, to whom the labours of either would have appeared conſiderable.

A few members of the aſſembly uſed to meet frequently in private, at a houſe in the Place Vendôme, where one of them lodged, and where a worthy and opulent woman had it in her power, without putting herſelf to inconvenience, to lend them an apartment, of which they were to make uſe, even in her abſence. Roland, who was eſteemed for his good ſenſe and integrity, was invited to join them; but he ſeldom went, on account of the diſtance. As to me, I lived at home according to cuſtom; I was not in health, and kept little company.

The ſituation of affairs, and the diſcontent of the public mind, alarmed the court. The miniſters ſoon became the objects of public animadverſion, and indeed their whole proceeding only tended to undermine a conſtitution which the king had ſworn to contrary to his inclination, and which he did not mean to maintain. The court, uneaſy and perplexed, in the midſt of the frequent changes and agitation of the miniſtry, knew not on whom to fix its choice. But there were people who declared openly, that if Louis XVI. were ſincere, he would take men of undoubted patriotiſm for his agents. At length, impelled by weakneſs or by fear, the court came to a deciſion, but it was with the hope of corrupting,

rupting, or if that hope failed, with the intention of diſmiſſing, the miniſters it ſhould appoint. The court then ſhewed itſelf inclined to make choice among thoſe called patriots; and at that time the term had not been abuſed. How was this brought about? I never knew, nor did I ever enquire, becauſe it appeared to me, that in that, as in all other caſes, the idea was firſt ſtarted by ſome few individuals, propagated by others, and at laſt taken up and acted upon by people in power. By reflecting minds it was conſidered as important, to direct the attention of the court towards men of abilities, and of reſpectable character; for it was poſſible that it might take a malicious pleaſure in ſelecting hot-headed Jacobins, whoſe extravagance might juſtify complaint, and ſerve to bring patriotiſm into contempt. I know not who firſt mentioned Roland, in the committee at the *Place Vendôme*, as one of thoſe who ought not to be overlooked. The name of Roland was neceſſarily aſſociated with the idea of a well informed man, who had written upon the ſubject of adminiſtration, who was not deſtitute of experience in that line, who was beſides in poſſeſſion of a fair reputation, and whoſe age, manners, and decided character, joined to the principles he had openly profeſſed, even before the revolution, beſpoke him a worthy partizan of liberty, in every point of view.—The king himſelf was no ſtranger to the above conſiderations, or at leaſt to the facts upon which they were founded, as I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew. Thoſe ideas aroſe ſo naturally out of the circumſtances of the moment, that they were communicated to us only three days before the formation of the new miniſtry.—Briſſot called upon me one even-

ing when I was alone, and informed me of the probability of Roland's elevation. I ſmiled, and aſked him the meaning of his pleaſantry. But he aſſured me it was no joke, related to me the particulars I have juſt mentioned, and added, that he was come to know whether Roland would conſent to take upon him ſuch a taſk. I promiſed to conſult him, and make known his reſolution on the following day. Roland was as much aſtoniſhed at the event as myſelf: but his natural activity rendered him by no means averſe to a multiplicity of buſineſs, and he ſaid to me with a ſmile, he had always ſeen people in power ſo miſerably deficient, that he had never ceaſed to wonder how the public concerns could go forward at all; and that conſequently the thing in itſelf gave him no alarm. The circumſtances of the times were indeed critical, on account of the intereſts of the court, and the uncertainty of the king's intentions; but to a man attached to his duty, and caring little for the loſs of his place while fulfilling its duties, the riſk of acceptance was not great. Beſides, a zealous man who had a right to ſome confidence in his talents, could not be inſenſible to the hope of ſerving his country. Roland then decided in the affirmative, and made known his intentions to Briſſot. The following day, the latter accompanied Dumouriez, who came to Roland's houſe at eleven o'clock at night, after the breaking up of the council, to inform him, in conſequence of orders, of which he was the bearer, that the king had juſt choſen him miniſter for the home department. Dumouriez, a miniſter of recent date, ſpoke of the king's ſincere determination to ſupport the conſtitution, and of his hope of ſeeing the machine ſet to work

as

ſoon as the ſame ſpirit ſhould pervade the whole council, eſtifying at the ſame time to Roland his particular ſatis-action at ſeeing a virtuous and enlightened patriot like im, called upon to take a ſhare in the government.

Briſſot obſerved, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, he buſineſs of the home department was the moſt delicate, and the moſt laborious; and that the minds of the friends of liberty would be at eaſe on ſeeing it entruſted to hands ſo ſteady and ſo pure. The converſation p ſſed lightly over theſe matters, and an hour of the next day was appointed for Roland to be preſented to the king, and to take his oath and his ſeat in the council. I found in Dumouriez the deliberate air of a ſoldier, the addreſs of a ſkilful courtier, and the converſation of a man of wit, but not the ſmalleſt trace of ſincerity or truth.—On comparing this man with his new colleague, whoſe frankneſs and auſterity ſometimes bordered upon rudeneſs, I aſked myſelf if it were poſſible for beings ſo diſſimilar to act long in concert?——'There goes a man,' ſaid Roland, on their taking leave, 'who diſcovers a great deal of patriotiſm, and appears to poſſeſs abilities.'—'Yes,' ſaid I, 'and againſt whom you will do well to be on your guard; for I believe him capable of worming you out of place as ſoon as any man, if you do not ſteer a courſe to pleaſe him.'—'We ſhall ſee,' ſaid Roland.

The firſt time that Roland appeared at court with his uſual philoſophic dreſs, adopted long ſince for the ſake of convenience, a few ſcattered hairs combed over his venerable forehead, a round hat, and ſtrings in his ſhoes, all the court lackeys, who attached the utmoſt importance to that etiquette on which their exiſtence de-

pended, were ſcandalized, and in a manner terrified at the ſight. -- One of them ſtepping up to Dumouriez with horror pictured in his countenance, whiſpered with a look that indicated conſternation, *Monſieur* *, *point de boucles a ſes ſouliers.* Dumouriez, ready at repartee, and aſſuming a tragi-comic tone, cried out, *Monſieur* †! *tout eſt perdu!* The ſaying was ſoon put in circulation, and provoked a laugh from thoſe who were leaſt inclined to be merry.

Louis XVI behaved to his new miniſters with the greateſt appearance of ſimplicity and good nature. This man was not preciſely what he was repreſented to be by thoſe who took a pleaſure in vilifying him: he was neither the brutiſh blockhead, who was held up to the contempt of the people; nor was he the worthy and kind creature, whom his friends extolled to the ſkies. Nature had endowed him with ordinary faculties, which would have ſerved him well in an obſcure ſtation, but he was depraved by his princely education, and ruined by his mediocrity in difficult times, when his ſalvation could only be effected by the union of genius and virtue. A common underſtanding, educated for the throne, and taught diſſimulation from the earlieſt infancy, has a great advantage in its commerce with mankind. The art of ſhewing to each perſon only what it is proper for him to ſee, is *in him* no more than a habit, the practice of which gives him the appearance of ability; but a man muſt be born an idiot indeed to appear a fool in ſuch a ſituation. Louis XVI. poſ-

* Sir! there are no buckles in his ſhoes!

† Sir! we are all ruined!

ſeſſed

ſſed beſides an excellent memory, and an active turn f mind; was never idle, and read a great deal. He ad alſo a ready recollection of the various treaties ex-ſting between France and the neighbouring [illegible]ions, as well read in hiſtory, and was the beſt geographer in he kingdom. His knowledge of the names, and his pplication of them to the faces, of all the perſons about he court to whom they belonged, as well as his ac-uaintance with the anecdotes peculiar to each, had been xtended to all the individuals who had diſtinguiſhed hemſelves in any manner during the revolution; ſo hat it was impoſſible to preſent to him a candidate for ny place, concerning whom he had not formed an opi-ion, founded on particular facts. But Louis XVI. ithout elevation of ſoul, energy of mind, or firmneſs f temper, had ſuffered his views to be ſtill further ontracted, and his ſentiments to be twiſted, if I may ſe the expreſſion, by religious prejudices, and jeſuiti-al principles. Elevated ideas of religion, a belief n God, and the hope of immortality, accord well with philoſophy, and fix it upon a broader baſis, at he ſame time that they compoſe the beſt ornaments of he ſuperſtructure. Woe to the legiſlators who deſpiſe heſe powerful means of inſpiring political virtue, and of preſerving the morals of the people! Even if they were illuſions yet unborn, it would be neceſſary to reate and foſter them for the conſolation of mankind, But the religion of our prieſts preſents nothing but ob-ects of puerile fear, and miſerable mummeries, to ſup-ply the place of good actions; and ſanctifies be-ſides all the maxims of deſpotiſm which the autho-ity of the church calls in to its aid. Louis XVI.

was

was afraid of hell, and of excommunication: with such weakneſs as this it was impoſſible not to make a miſerable king. Had he been born two centuries before, and had his wife been a rational woman, he would have made no more noiſe in the world, than many other princes of the Capetian line, who have "fretted their hour upon the ſtage," without doing much good or much harm.—But raiſed to the throne when the profligacy of Louis XV's court was at the higheſt, and the diſorder of the finances extreme, he was led away by a giddy woman, who joined to Auſtrian inſolence the preſumption of youth and high birth, an inordinate love of pleaſure, and all the thoughtleſſneſs of a light mind; and who was herſelf ſeduced by the vices of an Aſiatic court, for which ſhe had been but too well prepared by the example of her mother.—Louis XVI, too weak to hold the reins of a government that was running to deſtruction, haſtened their common ruin by innumerable faults. Necker, who always mixed up pathos in his politics as he did in his ſtyle, was a man of moderate abilities, of whom the public entertained a good opinion, becauſe he had a very high opinion of himſelf, and proclaimed it without reſerve; but void of all political foreſight, a kind of outrageous financier, who could calculate nothing but the contents of a purſe, and who ſpoke for ever of his character without rhime or reaſon, as women of gallantry do of their virtue; Necker was a bad pilot for France, when ſuch a ſtorm was gathering round the horizon. France was in a manner deſtitute of *men*; their ſcarcity has been truly ſurpriſing in this revolution, in which hardly anything but pigmies have appeared. I do not mean

at there was any want of wit, of knowledge, of learn-
g, of accompliſhments, or of philoſophy. Theſe in-
redients, on the contrary, were never ſo common:
was like the laſt glimmering of an expiring taper;
ut as to that energy of ſoul which J. J. Rouſſeau has
well defined by calling it the firſt attribute of a hero,
pported by that ſolidity of judgment which knows how
ſet a true value upon every thing, and by thoſe
xtenſive views which look into futurity, conſtituting
ogether the character of a great man, they were ſought
or every where, and were ſcarcely any where to be
ound.

Louis XVI. conſtantly fluctuating between the fear
of irritating his ſubjects, and the inclination of keeping
hem in awe, while incapable of governing them, con-
vened the ſtates general inſtead of retrenching his ex-
pences, and introducing order into his court. After
having himſelf ſowed the ſeeds, and provided the means
of innovation, he attempted to prevent it by the affec-
tation of a power, againſt which he had eſtabliſhed a
principle of counteraction, and by ſo doing only taught
his people to reſiſt. Nothing remained for him but to
ſacrifice one portion of his authority with a good grace,
in order to preſerve in the other the means of re-
covering the whole; but for want of knowing how to
go about it, he turned his attention to petty intrigues, the
only kind familiar to the perſons choſen by himſelf,
or favoured by the queen. He had however reſerved
in the conſtitution ſufficient means of power and of hap-
pineſs, had he known how to be content; ſo that,
wanting as he was in abilities to prevent its eſtabliſhment,
he might ſtill have been ſaved by the rectitude of his
conduct,

conduct, if after having accepted it, he had ſincerely endeavoured to promote its execution. But always proteſting, on one hand, his intention to ſupport what he was undermining on the other, the obliquity of his proceedings, and the fallacy of his conduct, began by awakening diſtruſt, and ended by exciting indignation.

As ſoon as he had appointed patriotic miniſters, he made it his ſole ſtudy to inſpire them with confidence; and ſo well did he ſucceed, that during the firſt three weeks, Roland and Claviere were enchanted with the good intentions of the king. They dreamt of nothing but a better order of things, and flattered themſelves that the revolution was at an end. 'Good heaven!' I uſed to ſay, 'I never ſee you ſet off for the council with that wonderful confidence, but it ſeems to me that you are about to commit ſome egregious act of folly.' 'I aſſure you,' would Claviere anſwer, 'the king is perfectly ſenſible, that his intereſt is connected with the obſervance of the new laws: he reaſons too pertinently on the ſubject not to be convinced of it.' '*Ma foi*,' added Roland, 'if he be not an honeſt man, he is the moſt arrant knave in the kingdom: it is impoſſible for diſſimulation to be carried to ſo great a length.' As to me, I always replied, I had no faith in that love for the conſtitution profeſſed by a man, who had been brought up in the prejudices of deſpotiſm, and in the habits of enjoying it, and whoſe recent conduct proved him wanting both in genius and virtue.—My great argument was the flight to Varennes.

The ſittings of the council were held in a manner that might paſs for decent, in compariſon of what they afterwards became; but with puerility, if regard be had

to

the important matters which called for diſcuſſion. ach of the miniſters who had *bons* * to be ſigned, or ſineſs of a ſimilar nature, regulated by the law, pecu- r to his department, and concerning which there was occaſion to deliberate, waited upon the king, on the y appointed, previouſly to the meeting of the coun- l, to tranſact thoſe particular and ſubordinate affairs. hey all repaired afterwards to the council chamber; nd there the proclamations that related to the ſubjects f diſcuſſion were taken out of the port-folio. The iniſter of juſtice next preſented the decrees for the royal ſſent; and then the council proceeded, or ought to ave proceeded, to deliberate upon the operations of overnment, the ſtate of affairs at home and abroad, he queſtion of peace and war, &c. As to proclama- ions adapted to exiſting circumſtances, it was only ne- ceſſary to examine the decree, and the propriety of its pplication, which was readily done. All this time the king ſuffered his miniſters to confer, while he read the ga- zette, or the Engliſh newſpapers in the original language, or elſe wrote a few letters. The ſanctioning of decrees obtained more of his attention: he ſeldom gave his con- ſent eaſily; and never without a refuſal, always declining to accede to the firſt requeſt, and poſtponing the matter to the next meeting, when he came with his opinion ready formed, though appearing to ground it upon the arguments brought forward in the debate. As to great political affairs, he often eluded their inveſtigation, by ſhifting the converſation to general topics, or to ſubjects ſuited to each particular per- ſon. If war were the queſtion, he would talk of tra-

* Orders on the Treaſury.

velling;

velling; if diplomatic concerns were upon the carpet, he would advert to the manners, or inquire into the local peculiarities of the country; or if the ſtate of affairs at home were in diſcuſſion, he would dwell upon ſome trifling detail of economy or agriculture. Roland he would queſtion about his works, Dumouriez concerning anecdotes, and ſo on: the council-chamber was converted into a coffee-room, where the governors of the empire amuſed themſelves with idle chat: no minutes were taken of the proceedings; there was no ſecretary to keep them; nor was any thing done in a ſitting of three hours except ſigning a few papers. Such was the farce that was acted three times a week. ——'Why it is pitiable!' cried I out of all patience, when on Roland's return, I inquired what had paſſed—'You are all in good humour, becauſe you experience no contradiction, and are treated with civility. You ſeem indeed to do whatever you pleaſe in your ſeveral departments; but I am ſadly afraid that you are duped —'the public buſineſs however is not at a ſtand'—'no, but much time is loſt; for in the torrent of affairs that overwhelms you, I would rather ſee you employ three hours in ſolitary meditation on the great intereſts of the ſtate, than ſpend them in idle converſation.' In the mean time the enemy were making preparations, and it had become abſolutely neceſſary to declare war; a meaſure which was the ſubject of an animated diſcuſſion, and which the king did not ſeem to take without extreme repugnance. He had long delayed the deciſion; and appeared only to yield to the well-known opinion of the majority of the aſſembly, and to the unanimous voice of the council. Soon after, the con-

nuation or the multiplicity of religious troubles rendered those coercive measures indispensable, which the minister of the interior had long solicited in vain, while the threatening, and formidable attitude of the foreign armies inspired the minister of war with the idea of a regulation, which the convention adopted with enthusiasm, and decreed without delay.

It is true that these two decrees, one for the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris, the other concerning the priests, were altogether decisive. The court perceived that they would overturn its secret treachery, the partial revolts fomented by fanaticism, and the progress of the enemy, which it favoured. The king was too firmly resolved to refuse his assent, to be in any haste to confess his determination, and devised various pretences by means of which he eluded the question for more than a fortnight. The discussion of this matter was several times renewed. Roland and Servan were urgent in their representations, because each of them felt the importance and necessity of the law that regarded his particular department; the general advantage was evident to all, and the six ministers in this respect were all of the same opinion. In the mean time Dumouriez, whose loose conversation the king encouraged, and whose manners did not render him unfit for the meridian of a court, was sent for several times to the queen. He had a little affront to revenge, and wished to get rid of colleagues, whose austerity accorded ill with his gay turn of mind: hence he was induced to enter into agreements of which the effect was soon perceived.

As to me, I felt a kind of agitation difficult to describe;

ſcribe: delighted with the revolution; perſuaded that, with all its faults, it was neceſſary to enforce the conſtitution; and ardently deſiring to ſee my country proſper, the lowering aſpect of public affairs gave me a moral fever, which raged without intermiſſion. The king's delays demonſtrated his duplicity; and Roland had no longer any doubt upon the ſubject: there remained then but one reſolution for an honeſt miniſter to take, and that was to go out of office, in caſe Louis XVI. ſhould obſtinately refuſe to take the meaſures neceſſary for the ſalvation of the ſtate.

That ſtep, unattended by any other, might perhaps have ſatisfied the conſcience of a timid man; but for a zealous citizen, it is not enough to renounce a poſt in which good is no longer to be done; it behoves him to ſay ſo with energy, that he may throw light upon the public calamities, and render his reſignation beneficial to his country.—Roland and I had long lamented the weakneſs of his colleagues. The tardineſs of the king had ſuggeſted the idea, that it might be of great uſe to addreſs a letter to him from the miniſters collectively, ſetting forth the reaſons which had already been given in the council, but which, when expreſſed upon paper, and ſigned by them all, with the offer of their reſignation in caſe his majeſty ſhould not think proper to liſten to their repreſentations, might either force him to compliance, or expoſe him to the eyes of all France. I drew up the letter, after having agreed upon the fundamental points with Roland, and Roland made the propoſal to his colleagues.—All approved of the idea, but moſt of them differed as to the execution. Claviere objected to ſome phraſe or other; Duranthon was inclined to temporize; and Lacoſte was

in

no haſte to ſubſcribe his name. As ſuch a meaſure ſhould be the effect of a firſt glance and of a lively ſenſe of its propriety, the failure of our attempt was a hint not to repeat it. It became then neceſſary to act in an inſulated character, and ſince the council had not ſpirit enough to ſtand forth together, it behoved the man who ſet events at a defiance to take upon himſelf a taſk which the whole body ſhould have fulfilled: the queſtion was no longer to reſign, but to deſerve to be diſmiſſed—to ſay, do thus or we will retire; but to aſſert that all was loſt unleſs a proper line of conduct were purſued.

I compoſed the famous letter. Here I muſt digreſs for a moment to clear up the doubts, and to fix the opinion of a number of perſons, of whom the greater part only allow me a little merit, that they may deny it to my huſband, while many others ſuppoſe me to have had a kind of influence in public affairs entirely diſcordant with my turn of mind. Studious habits and a taſte for literature made me participate in his labours, as long as he remained a private individual—I wrote with him as I ate with him, becauſe one was almoſt as natural to me as the other, and becauſe my exiſtence being devoted to his happineſs, I applied myſelf to thoſe things which gave him the greateſt pleaſure. Roland wrote treatiſes on the arts; I did the ſame, although the ſubject was tedious to me. He was fond of erudition; I helped him to purſue his critical reſearches. Did he wiſh, by way of recreation, to compoſe an eſſay for ſome academy? we ſat down to write in concert, or elſe ſeparately, that we might afterwards compare our productions, chooſe the beſt, or compreſs them into one.

If he had written homilies, I ſhould have written homilies alſo. When he became miniſter I did not interfere with his adminiſtration; but if a circular letter, a ſet of inſtructions, or an important ſtate paper, were wanting, we talked the matter over with our uſual freedom, and impreſſed with his ideas, and pregnant with my own, I took up the pen, which I had more leiſure to conduct than he had.

Our principles and our turn of mind being the ſame, we came to a final agreement as to the form, and my huſband ran no riſk in paſſing through my hands. I could advance nothing warranted by juſtice or reaſon, which he was not capable of realizing, or ſupporting by his energy and conduct; but my language expreſſed more ſtrongly than his words, what he had done or what he promiſed to do. Roland *without me* would not have been a worſe miniſter; his activity, and his knowledge, as well as his probity, were all his own; but *with me* he attracted more attention, becauſe I infuſed into his writings that mixture of ſpirit and of ſoftneſs, of authoritative reaſon, and of ſeducing ſentiment, which are perhaps only to be found in a woman endowed with a clear head and a feeling heart. I compoſed with delight ſuch pieces as I deemed likely to be of uſe, and felt greater pleaſure in ſo doing than if I had been known as the author. I am avaricious of happineſs: with me it conſiſts in the good I do: I do not even ſtand in need of glory; nor can I find any part in this world that ſuits me, but that of Providence. I allow the malicious to look upon this confeſſion as a piece of impertinence which it muſt ſomewhat reſemble;

thoſe who know me however will ſee nothing in it but what is ſincere, like myſelf.

I return to the letter, which was ſketched with a ſtroke of the pen, as was nearly the caſe with every thing I did of the kind; for to feel the neceſſity and propriety of a thing, to conceive its good effect, to deſire to produce it, and to caſt into the mould the object from which that effect was to reſult, were to me but one and the ſame operation. While we were reading over this letter together, who ſhould be preſent in my huſband's cloſet, but that very *Pache*, who, before the expiration of the year, calumniated Roland, and now perſecutes us, as the enemies of liberty.—'Tis a very bold ſtep,' ſaid the hypocrite, whom I took for a ſage.—'Very bold! without doubt, but juſt and neceſſary; what ſignifies any thing elſe?'—Roland repaired to the council, on the 10th of June, with the letter in his pocket, and with the deſign of firſt reading it aloud to his colleagues, and then putting it into the king's hands. The debate concerning the ſanctioning of the two decrees began; but was ſuſpended by the king, who told his miniſters to have each his written opinion ready to deliver to him at the next meeting of the council. Roland could have delivered *his* without delay: he thought however, after what had juſt been ſaid, that it was incumbent on him to wait out of a ſort of regard to his colleagues; but on his return home we were of opinion, that he could not do better than diſpatch his letter, to which he added three or four miſſive lines.

The next day, at eight o'clock in the evening, I ſaw Servan walk into my apartment with a joyful counte-

nance. 'Congratulate me,' ſaid he, 'I am turned out.' 'I am much mortified,' anſwered I, 'at your being the firſt to have that honour; but I hope that, ere long, it will be awarded to my huſband.'—Servan related to me that having been on buſineſs with the king in the morning, he had endeavoured to ſpeak to him about the camp; that the king, with evident marks of ill humour, had by turning his back upon him put an end to the converſation; and that at the very inſtant Dumouriez came up, in his majeſty's name, to demand his *port folio*, of which he was going to take charge himſelf.—'Dumouriez? His conduct ſurpriſes me little, but it is infamous, and the other miniſters in that caſe ought not to wait for their diſmiſſion. It would become them better to write to the king, that they can no longer ſit at the council board with Dumouriez: we muſt ſend for them to conſult about it.' Nobody but Claviere and Duranthon came, and they were people who never knew how to take a deciſive meaſure. It was agreed upon that they ſhould return the next morning, after due deliberation, and that Roland ſhould have a letter prepared for them all to ſign. At the ſame time he communicated to them the one which he had ſent in the morning, and from which he expected the ſame treatment as Servan had met with before.—I do not know whether, for that very reaſon, theſe gentlemen, who were fond of their places, might not imagine, that the two miniſters the moſt urgent for the decrees, would be the only ones ſacrificed, and that they ought not to expoſe themſelves raſhly to the ſame fate. The next morning they did not think proper to write, but deemed it moſt adviſeable to go and ſpeak

to

to the king in perſon; a meaſure contrary to common ſenſe; for when it is neceſſary to ſpeak plain truths to a perſon entitled by his ſituation to a great deal of reſpect, it is much more advantageous to do it by letter. Roland, who had fulfilled his taſk, could do no more than join them upon this occaſion; and they all repaired to Lacoſte's, with the intention of aſking him to be of the party. Lacoſte was doubtful, and appeared to heſitate, when a meſſenger from the king brought Duranthon an order to go immediately, and alone, to the palace.—'We will go and wait for you at your own houſe,' ſaid Claviere and Roland.—Scarcely had they reached the palace of juſtice, when Duranthon returned with a long face, and a hypocritical look; and drew ſlowly out of his pocket what was called a *lettre de cachet*, containing the diſcharge of his two colleagues. 'You make us wait a long while for our liberty,' ſaid Roland, taking the paper with a ſmile. 'Ay, our liberty is here indeed.'—He returned home, and brought me the intelligence, for which I was well prepared.—'One thing remains to be done,' ſaid I, with animation; 'and that is, to be the firſt to acquaint the aſſembly with your diſmiſſion, ſending them at the ſame time a copy of your letter to the king, by which it has certainly been occaſioned.' This idea pleaſed him much, and we put it immediately into execution.—I foreſaw that it would have a great effect; nor was I deceived: it anſwered a double purpoſe; *utility* and *glory* were the conſequences of my huſband's retreat. I had not been proud of his elevation to the miniſtry, but I was proud of his diſgrace.

I have ſaid that Dumouriez had a little affront to revenge by entering into a league with the court againſt

his colleagues. The circumſtance that gave riſe to it was as follows.

Bonne-Carrere, a handſome man, who had the reputation and manners of an intriguer, and who owed the croſs of St. Lewis which decorated his perſon to the intereſt of Dumouriez, was choſen by the latter for his principal agent, and appointed director general of the department of foreign affairs.

I ſaw him once only, when Dumouriez brought him to dine with me; and was as little impoſed upon by his agreeable outſide as by that of Herault de Sechelles. 'All theſe handſome fellows,' ſaid I to a friend, 'ſeem to me to be but poor patriots; they appear too fond of themſelves not to prefer their own pretty perſons to the public good; nor can I ever help being tempted to lower their conceit, by affecting to be blind to the advantage on which they pride themſelves the moſt.'

I more than once heard grave men, members of the legiſlature, ſome of thoſe noble originals who kept honour and probity alive, and who are now declared infamous on that account; I heard them lament the choice that Dumouriez had made, and contend that patriotic miniſters, to give ſtrength to the cauſe of liberty, ſhould be particularly careful to commit every part of the adminiſtration to the pureſt hands. I know that Dumouriez was mildly remonſtrated with, and that he urged in excuſe the underſtanding and talents of Bonne-Carrere, to whom wit, verſatility, and a mind fertile in reſources, could not be denied; but a rumour got abroad of an affair managed by Bonne-Carrere, on account of which a hundred thouſand livres had been depoſited in a notary's hands. A part of it was intended for madam de

Beauvart.

Beauvart. This lady was Dumouriez' miſtreſs, a woman of eaſy virtue, and ſiſter to Rivarol, living in the midſt of people of diſſolute manners, and diſguſting aristocracy. I have forgot the nature of the affair, and the parties; but the names, the dates, and the particulars, were known, and the fact was undoubted. It was agreed that Dumouriez ſhould be ſeriouſly requeſted to diſmiſs Bonne-Carrere, and to preſerve, or to put on a decency of demeanor, without which it was impoſſible for him to remain in the miniſtry, and to avoid injury to the good cauſe. Genſonné, who was intimately acquainted with Dumouriez; and Briſſot, to whom all Bonne-Carrere's tricks had been denounced, determined to ſpeak to him at Roland's, in his preſence, and in that of three or four other perſons, either his colleagues, or members of the legiſlative body. Accordingly, after dining at my table, and retiring into the room which I generally inhabited, the grievance was ſet forth, and the obſervations it warranted, were made to Dumouriez. Roland, with all the gravity of his age and character, took the liberty of inſiſting upon the matter, as intereſting to the whole miniſtry. Nothing being leſs agreeable to Dumouriez than this preciſion, and the tone of remonſtrance, he endeavoured at firſt to give the ſubject a light turn; but finding himſelf hard preſſed by ſober argument, he grew angry, and took leave with an air of diſcontent. From that day he ceaſed to viſit the members of the aſſembly, and did not ſeem ſatisfied when he met them at my houſe, whither he came much leſs frequently than before. Reflecting upon this conduct, I told Roland, 'that, without pretending to be verſed in intrigue, I believed, according to the practice of

the world, the hour of ruining Dumouriez was at hand, if he did not wiſh to be overturned himſelf. 'I know very well,' added I, 'that you will not deſcend to ſuch manœuvres; but it is not the leſs true, that Dumouriez will certainly endeavour to get rid of thoſe by whoſe cenſure he has been offended. When a man once begins to read lectures, and does it to no purpoſe, he muſt puniſh, or expect to be moleſted.' Dumouriez, who was partial to Bonne-Carrere, made him his confidant as far as he was perſonally concerned; and Bonne-Carrere, who had acceſs to the queen by means of ſeveral women with whom he was connected, found means to huſh up the diſgraceful ſtory. Intrigues were ſet on foot; the famous decrees followed; and although Dumouriez was for giving them the royal aſſent, he contrived to keep in favour at court, and was of uſe, after the departure of his colleagues, either by propoſing ſucceſſors, or by accepting the war department; though, by the way, he did not keep it long; for the court, which at firſt had been glad to retain him, that they might not appear to diſmiſs all the miniſters denominated patriots at once, got rid of him ſoon after. But he was too dexterous not to avoid a total diſgrace, and obtained employment in the army conformable to his rank.

Even the patriots imagined it was adviſable to turn his talents to account, and were in hopes that he would make a good uſe of them in his military career. —One of the principal difficulties that embarraſſed government, after the 10th of Auguſt, was to find perſons fit to fill public employs, particularly in that line. The old government had conferred the rank of officer upon none

ne but nobles; and knowledge and experience were ncentrated in their order; but the people were uneasy seeing them intrusted with the conduct of the forces ended to support a constitution adverse to their in-rest. Struck with this contrast, they could not, like e enlightened part of mankind, judge of the reasons of onfidence, founded on one man's disposition, on the affions of another, and on the principles of a third. Their flatterers, on the contrary, aggravated their fears, nd excited their distrust: everlasting denunciators, they et themselves up as enemies to every man in place, that hey might establish themselves in those places which best uited their ambition: such is the system of all agitators, rom Hippo, the orator of Syracuse, to Robespierre, he *speechifier* of Paris.

Roland, recalled to the ministry, thought that the public good, and the circumstances of the times, made it his duty to do away all idea of opposition between Dumouriez and himself, since each was serving the republic in his way. "The chances in politics," said he in his letter, "are as uncertain as in war; *I* am again in "the executive council; *you* are at the head of an "army: you have the errors of your administration to "efface from the public mind, and laurels to gather in "the field of Mars! You were led into an intrigue "which made you do an ill office to your colleagues, "and were duped, in your turn, by the very court "whose favour you were striving to preserve. But "you are not unlike those valorous knights, who were "every now and then guilty of little roguish tricks, "at which they were the first to laugh themselves; but "who fought nevertheless like furies, when their ho-

"nour

" nour was at ſtake. It muſt be confeſſed that this
" character does not very well accord with republican
" auſterity: it is the conſequence of thoſe manners,
" which we have not yet been able to throw off, and for
" which you will be ſure of a pardon, if you beat the
" enemy. You will find me in the council ever ready
" to ſecond your enterpriſes as long as they have the
" public welfare in view. Where that is concerned I
" am a ſtranger to all favour and affection; and ſhall
" look up to you as to one of the ſaviours of my coun-
" try, provided you devote yourſelf ſincerely to its de-
" fence."—Dumouriez's anſwer was ſpirited, and his conduct no leſs ſo—he repulſed the Pruſſians.

I remember at this period, ſome hopes were entertained of detaching them from the league, and ſome overtures made in conſequence; but they led to nothing. He came to Paris after the enemy had evacuated our territory, to concert the plan of his Belgic campaign. Roland ſaw him at the council chamber, and once he came to dine at our houſe, with ſeveral other gueſts. When he entered the room, he appeared a little embarraſſed, and offered me a beautiful bouquet which he had in his hand, with ſomewhat of an awkward air for a man of ſo much aſſurance. I ſmiled, and told him, that the tricks of fortune were whimſical enough; and that doubtleſs he never expected ſhe would enable me to receive him again in that hotel; but flowers did not the leſs become the conqueror of the Pruſſians, and that I received them with pleaſure from his hand. After dinner he propoſed going to the opera. That, again, was a remnant of the old folly of our generals, whoſe cuſtom it was to ſhew themſelves

lves at the playhouſe, and ſeek theatrical crowns henever they had obtained an advantage over the nemy. Somebody aſked me if I did not intend to be ere; but I declined giving an anſwer, becauſe it was either conſiſtent with my character nor my manners to ppear in public with Dumouriez. When the company as gone, however, I propoſed to Vergniaux to take a eat in my box, in company with my daughter and nyſelf. We went thither, and were told by the aſtoniſhed box-keeper that the miniſter's box was full. 'That is impoſſible,' ſaid I; for nobody could go into t without a ticket ſigned by him, and I had not given a ſingle one away.—'But it is the miniſter himſelf, and he inſiſted upon admiſſion.'—'No, that cannot be: open the door, and I ſhall ſoon ſee who it is.' Two or three *ſans-culottes*, in the ſhape of bullies, were ſtanding in the lobby. 'Don't open the door,' cried they, 'the miniſter is there.'—'I cannot help it,' anſwered the woman, who inſtantly obeyed me; and there I diſcovered Danton's broad face, that of Fabre, and two or three women of ſuſpicious appearance. The opera was begun; their eyes were turned upon the ſtage; and Danton was leaning over towards the next box to ſpeak to Dumouriez, whom I recognized immediately. All this I ſaw at a ſingle glance, without being perceived by any body in the box, and puſhing the door to, made a haſty retreat. 'Why, indeed,' ſaid I to the box-keeper, 'a certain *ci-devant* miniſter of juſtice is there, whom I would rather leave to enjoy the fruits of his impertinence, than enter into any altercation with him: I have nothing to do here.' On ſaying this, I retired, well pleaſed upon the whole that Danton's folly had ſaved me from

from the incongruity I wiſhed to avoid of appearing in public with Dumouriez, whoſe ſeat would have been very near to mine. I afterwards heard that Danton and Fabre conſtantly attended him to all the other theatres where he was weak enough to ſhew himſelf. As to me, I have never ſeen him ſince. This, then, is the whole of our connection with a man, whoſe accomplices people were pleaſed to ſuppoſe us at the time of his treachery. Dumouriez is active, vigilant, witty, and brave; calculated alike for war and for intrigue. Poſſeſſed of great military talents, he was the only man in France, in the opinion even of his jealous competitors, able to command a large army properly; but he was better fitted by his verſatile diſpoſition, and by his diſſolute morals, to ſerve under the old court, than under the new government. His extenſive views, and the ſpirit with which he purſues them, render him capable of forming vaſt projects; nor does he want abilities to carry them into execution; but his temper is not equal to his underſtanding, and his impatience and impetuoſity hurry him into meaſures precipitate or indiſcreet. He is excellent at deviſing a ſtratagem; but incapable of concealing his purpoſe for any length of time. Dumouriez, in ſhort, to become the leader of a party, wanted a cooler head.

I am perſuaded he did not go to the Belgic provinces with treacherous intentions: he would have ſerved the republic as he had ſerved the king, provided it had tended to his glory and advantage; but the injudicious decrees paſſed by the convention, the infamous conduct of its commiſſaries, and the blunders of the executive power, ruining our cauſe in that country, and the aſpect

ffairs threatening a general convulsion, he conceived idea of giving them a turn, and for want of temper prudence bewildered himself in his combinations. mouriez must be very amiable in orgies of his own and agreeable to women of dissolute manners: he ears to have still all the sprightliness of youth, and the gaiety of a lively and free imagination; but with men of a reserved disposition there is something mal in his politeness. He used to divert the king in ncil by the most extravagant stories, at which his ve colleagues could not help laughing; and not unquently he seasoned them with truths equally bold and ll applied. What a difference between this man, cious as he is, and Lukner, who at one time was the ly hope of France! Never did I meet with any thing contemptible. He was an old soldier, half *brutified*, nting in common sense, and destitute of all energy of ind; a mere phantom of a man, who, by means of his oken French, his fondness for wine, a few oaths, and kind of intrepidity, had acquired great popularity the army, among mercenary machines, ever the pes of any one who taps them on the shoulder, eaks to them with familiarity, and punishes them from me to time. 'O my poor country!' said I next day Guadet, who asked me what I thought of Lukner, you are undone indeed, if you are obliged to send broad for such a being, and to confide your destiny to ich hands!'

I am perfectly ignorant of tactics, and Lukner, for ught I know, might understand the routine of his profession; but I am well assured that no man can be a reat general without good sense and rationality.

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The thing which ſurpriſed me the moſt, after
huſband's elevation had given me an opportunity
being acquainted with a great number of perſons, p
ticularly of thoſe employed in important affairs, w
the univerſal meanneſs of their minds: it ſurpaſſes ev
thing that can be imagined, and extends to every ra
from the clerk, who ſtands in need of nothing but ſe
to comprehend a plain queſtion, method to treat it, a
a decent ſtyle to draw up a letter, to the miniſ
charged with the government, the general at the he
of armies, and the ambaſſador employed to protect t
intereſts of the ſtate. But for that experience, new
ſhould I have thought ſo poorly of my ſpecies; nor w
it till that period that I aſſumed any confidence in m
ſelf: till then I was as baſhful as a boarder in a co
vent, and thought people who had more aſſuran
than myſelf, had more abilities alſo.—I no longer won
der, indeed, that I was a favourite: my friends pe
ceived I was not without my ſhare of merit, an
yet I ſincerely did homage to other people's vanity.—
In this ſcarcity of men of abilities, the revolution havin
ſucceſſively driven away thoſe whoſe birth, fortune, edu
cation, and circumſtances, had rendered them ſuperior t
the maſs of the people by a ſomewhat higher degre
of cultivation, it is no wonder if we fell gradually int
the hands of the groſſeſt ignorance, and moſt ſhameſ
incapacity. There are a great many degrees betwee
de Grave and Bouchotte. The former was a litt
man, whom nature had made gentle, whoſe prejudice
inſpired him with pride, and whoſe heart perſuaded hi
to be amiable; but who, for want of knowing how t
reconcile thoſe various affections, at laſt became nothin
a

all. I think I ſee him now, walking upon his heels, with his elbows turned out, and his head erect, very often ſhewing nothing but the whites of his great blue eyes, which he could not keep open after dinner without the aſſiſtance of two or three cups of coffee; ſpeaking little, as if out of diſcretion, but in reality for fear of expoſing himſelf; and truly anxious about his official concerns, but diſtracted by their multiplicity. The conſequence was, that at laſt he abandoned a place for which he felt himſelf unfit. I will ſay nothing of Bourotte; an idiot is deſcribed in three ſyllables; but his faults were innumerable. Of Servan I have ſpoken elſewhere; a brave ſoldier, an excellent citizen, and a man of information, he poſſeſſed a degree of merit ſeldom to be met with: the world would be too happy if there were many men of that character. Claviere, a man of underſtanding, but of that diſagreeable diſpoſition ſo common among people, who paſſing much of their time in their cloſets, form opinions there, which they afterwards maintain with obſtinacy, was neither deficient in knowledge nor philoſophy; but financial habits had in ſome meaſure narrowed his mind. Pecuniary calculations indeed always ſpoil the happieſt diſpoſitions; for it is impoſſible for a man not to ſet a high value upon that which conſtitutes his daily occupation. A banker may be an able and well-informed man; but he will never number the diſintereſtedneſs of Ariſtides among his virtues. Claviere is very laborious, eaſy to be led by thoſe who know his weak ſide, but inſupportable in his commerce with any body who partakes of his own obſtinacy in diſpute; a bad judge of mankind, of whom he never ſtudied but one part, their underſtandings, without attending

attending to their diſpoſitions, their intereſts, and the paſſions; timid in council, although ſometimes carried away by the warmth of his temper; in a word, he is rather a good adminiſtrator than an able miniſter.

I never yet could underſtand what it was that promoted Duranthon to a place in the adminiſtration, unleſs indeed it were the idea of the little ability neceſſary to fill that of miniſter of juſtice. Heavy, ſlothful, vain and talkative, timid and confined in his notions, he was in truth no better than an old woman. His reputation for integrity, the ſober manners of a decent advocate, a few teſtimonies of attachment to the revolution, and the age of experience, probably ſerved him as a recommendation; but he had not even ſenſe enough to make a ſeaſonable retreat, the only meaſure by which he could have acquired a portion of glory. When I recollect what kind of men he has had for his ſucceſſors, I am leſs angry with thoſe who thought him worthy of his place; but I cannot help aſking myſelf where we are to ſeek for men qualified to hold the reins of government.

Lacoſte had the official knowledge, the laborious habits, and the inſignificance of a clerk. Having been long employed in the admiralty-office (*Bureaux de la marine*), he was thought fit to be put at the head of that department, in which he committed no blunders. But he was deſtitute of the capacity and activity which ought to characterize the adminiſtrator of ſo conſiderable a branch of the public buſineſs, and his want of them was expoſed by the exigencies of the times. Nothing ſhort of the inability of Monge, could have afforded an advantageous object of compariſon for Lacoſte.—Beneath the maſk of a countenance almoſt indicating timidity, the latter

latter concealed an irritable diſpoſition, which, in caſe of contradiction, degenerated into the moſt ridiculous violence.

Such was the compoſition of the miniſtry the firſt time that Roland belonged to it. There prevailed, in the beginning, a great union between the members of the council; and I verily believe they were all ſincerely attached to the conſtitution, with more or leſs of regard to their own intereſt on the part of ſeveral. As they aſſembled at each other's houſes on the days the council met, I had them to dine with me once a week. Some of the members of the legiſlative body were alſo invited; and the converſation uſed to turn on the affairs of the nation, with a common deſire of promoting the public good. This was a happy time in compariſon of that which followed!

ROLAND's SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

At the time of the recal of Roland, Claviere, and Servan, the compoſition of the miniſtry was completed by the appointment of Danton, whom I have ſufficiently depicted elſewhere, and by that of Monge and le Brun; the former to the marine department, the latter to that of foreign affairs. Nothing is ſo diſtreſſing as the difficulty of making a choice in circumſtances like thoſe of the times in queſtion. Every man who had belonged to the court, directly or indirectly, was proſcribed by public opinion; nor could any thing ſhort of the brilliant proofs of patriotiſm given by Servan, efface that original ſin, even ſmall as it was in regard to him. The perſons employed to make a choice were ill calculated to do ſo. New themſelves to public affairs, our legiſlators could not boaſt of thoſe extenſive connections which lead to an acquaintance with a great number of individuals, and enable a man to ſelect from them the perſons beſt fitted for important employments. The committee was puzzled to make a choice, when the idea of Monge, who was known to Condorcet as a fellow academician, and of whoſe patriotiſm ſeveral others had heard favourable mention, preſented itſelf. Monge, a mathematician, ſometimes ſent to examine officers at the out-ports, an honeſt citizen, the father of a reſpectable family, and a zealous member of the club of the Luxemburg, was for a moment weighed in the ſcale againſt Meunier, his colleague at the academy, and an officer of engineers; but as the latter was known to have paid his court to the great, Monge was preferred.

Good-

Good-humoured, thick-witted, and inclined to buf-
onery, Monge was a ſtone-cutter at Mezieres, where
e Abbe Boſſut, perceiving him to have a turn for the
athematics, initiated him in that ſcience, and encou-
ged him by a donation of ſix livres a week: but when
y application he had got forward in the world, he
eaſed to viſit his benefactor, conſidering himſelf as his
qual. Accuſtomed to calculate immutable elements,
Monge was deſtitute of all knowledge of the world, or
f public affairs: heavy and awkward in his pleaſantry,
e recalled to my recollection, in his clumſy attempts at
wit, the bears kept in the ditches of the city of Berne,
whoſe playful tricks, correſponding with their uncouth
forms, amuſe the paſſengers.

The new miniſter filled his office with men as little
capable of acting as he was of judging: he took great
pains without doing any good, and ſuffered the ma-
rine to be diſorganized at a time when it was moſt
important to keep up, and even to increaſe the eſtabliſh-
ment. Praiſe, however, is due to the goodneſs of his
intentions: he was frightened at the burthen, and wiſhed
to lay it down; but the difficulty of finding a better
man, procured him an invitation to remain at his poſt.
By degrees his duty came to ſit eaſy on him, and he
fancied that he did it as well as it could have been done
by any body elſe. But though a bad adminiſtrator, he
was ſtill worſe as a counſellor, and ſerved only to fill a
chair during the debates of the executive power, con-
curring conſtantly in ſentiment with the moſt timid,
becauſe having none of his own, he naturally followed
that which was moſt conformable to the views of a
narrow mind.

When Pache was promoted to the miniſtry, he became the oracle of his friend and admirer Monge, who was no longer of any opinion but his, and received it as if it had been the inſpiration of the divinity. Thus was he *Maratized*; and thus did this man, who was deſtined by nature to play a better part, become the abettor of the moſt atrocious and ſanguinary doctrines.

Le Brun, employed in the office of foreign affairs, paſſed for a man of ſound underſtanding, becauſe he never had any flights of fancy, and for a man of abilities, becauſe he had been a tolerable clerk. He was tolerably acquainted with the diplomatic chart, and could draw up a ſenſible letter or report. In ordinary times, he would have done very well for the department which is the leaſt laborious, and where the buſineſs is of the moſt agreeable kind. But he had none of that activity of mind and diſpoſition, which it was neceſſary to diſplay at the moment he was called to the miniſtry. Ill-informed of what was going on among our neighbours, and ſending miniſters to foreign courts, who, although not deſtitute of merit, had none of thoſe qualities which ſerve to recommend a man, and who could hardly penetrate further than the anti-chambers of the great; he neither made uſe of that kind of intrigue, by which employment might have been found at home for thoſe who wiſhed to attack us, nor of that kind of dignity with which a powerful ſtate ought to inveſt its acknowledged agents in order to procure itſelf reſpect—'What are you about?' Roland ſometimes uſed to ſay. 'In your place, I would have put all Europe in motion, and have inſured peace to France, without the aid of arms; I would take care to know what is going on

in

in every cabinet, and exert my influence there.' Le Brun was never in a hurry; and now, in Auguſt 1793, Semonville, who ought to have been at Conſtantinople eight months ago, has juſt been intercepted in his way through Switzerland. The laſt choice of Le Brun will ſerve to characterize him completely, without my adding another trait. He has appointed Grouvelle, the ſecretary to the council, of whom in that quality I ought already to have ſpoken, miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Denmark.

Grouvelle, a pupil of Cerutti, of whom he learned nothing but to conſtruct affected phraſes, which contain the whole of his philoſophy; narrow-minded, frigid, and vain, the laſt editor of the *Feuille Villageoiſe*, become as flat as himſelf; Grouvelle had been candidate for ſome place or other in the miniſtry, and was appointed ſecretary to the council on the tenth of Auguſt, according to a conſtitutional law, againſt the diſregard of which Roland had remonſtrated with ſo much warmth, that the king had at laſt determined to attend to it. Roland was in hopes that the keeping of a regular regiſter, in which an entry might be made of the debates, would give to the proceedings of the council a more ſerious, as well as a more uſeful turn: he perceived beſides, that it would afford to men poſſeſſed of a firm temper of mind an opportunity of authenticating their opinions, and of ſecuring a teſtimony ſometimes uſeful to hiſtory, and always neceſſary to their own juſtification. But the beſt inſtitutions are only advantageous when in the hands of people incapable of perverting them. Grouvelle did not know how to take minutes of the proceedings, and the miniſters, for the

moſt part, cared little whether any traces of their opinion remained. The ſecretary was never able to do more than draw up a ſummary of the reſolutions taken, without the aſſignment of any reaſons, or the mention of any oppoſition; nor could Roland ever find means to get his objections inſerted, even when he formally reſiſted the reſolution of the council. Grouvelle conſtantly interfered in the diſcuſſion, and by his captious manner contributed not a little to render it perplexing, till Roland, out of all patience, obſerved to him one day that he did not recollect his buſineſs there.—'What, am I nothing but an ink-horn!' exclaimed the important ſecretary in an angry tone.---'You ought to be nothing elſe here,' replied the ſevere Roland; 'every time you interfere in the debate you forget your duty, which is to take it down; and this is the reaſon why you have only time to make a little inſignificant ſtatement upon a looſe ſheet of paper, which, when entered in the regiſter, gives not the ſmalleſt idea of the operations of government; whereas the regiſter of the council ought to ſerve as archives to the executive power.'---Grouvelle was much incenſed, but he neither improved nor altered his method, which, as my reader will eaſily perceive, was quite good enough for ſuch men as I have deſcribed above. The ſalary of his place was twenty thouſand livres (£833), to which he thought it would be convenient to add an apartment in the Louvre, ſpacious enough to lodge himſelf and his clerks, and made his repreſentation to the miniſter of the home department accordingly. It requires but little knowledge of Roland's character to conceive the indignation with which he received this propoſal, and

the vigour with which he repelled it. 'Clerks! ſaid he, for buſineſs that I could tranſact myſelf in a few hours, and better than you if I were in your place.—I deſire that you will take a copyiſt to ſave you the trouble of delivering ſuch copies or extracts of the proceedings as you may be called upon to furniſh; but twenty thouſand livres are quite ſufficient to pay his ſalary, and to find a lodging for him as well as for yourſelf: the ſum is even extravagant, in a free government, for the place you occupy.'

Grouvelle certainly has a right not to be fond of Roland, and I believe that he exerciſes it to its full extent.

As to me, I felt, in the moſt lively manner, that his ridiculous pretenſions were intolerable.—Theſe men, made up of vanity, whoſe wit is a mere jargon, whoſe philoſophy is pitiable oſtentation, and whoſe ſentiments are recollections, appear to me a kind of eunuchs, in a moral ſenſe, whom I deſpiſe and deteſt more cordially than ſome women hate and diſdain thoſe creatures. Such, however, is the miniſter of a great nation at a foreign court, of which it is important to preſerve the eſteem, and ſecure the neutrality. I am unacquainted with the ſecret of his appointment; but I would wager that Grouvelle, half-dead with fear, on ſeeing the diſaſtrous poſition of public affairs, requeſted le Brun to get him ſent out of France in any way whatever; and that le Brun, in quality of miniſter, made him ambaſſador, as he would have made him a travelling-clerk, if he himſelf had been a merchant. It is an arrangement between individual and individual, in which the republic is no otherwiſe concerned than in conferring the title, and advantages attached to it, and in receiving

the injury that may ariſe from being ſo badly repreſented.

The choice of an envoy to the United States was conducted with more wiſdom; and affords a new argument in favour of Briſſot, againſt whom the ſhare he had in it is brought forward as a crime. Bonne-Carrere having been fixed upon, I know not at what period, Briſſot obſerved to ſeveral members of the council, that it was of conſequence to the maintenance of our good underſtanding with the United States, as well as to the glory of our infant republic, to ſend to America a man whoſe diſpoſition and manners might be agreeable to the Americans. In that reſpect Bonne-Carrere was not a ſuitable perſon: an amiable libertine of the faſhionable world, and a gameſter, whatever might be his talents and abilities, was very unfit to play the grave and decent part becoming a miniſter reſident with that tranſatlantic nation.

Briſſot was actuated by no perſonal intereſt; he was the laſt man in the world to be ſo influenced: he mentioned Geneſt, who was juſt returned from a reſidence of five years in Ruſſia, and who, beſides his being already converſant with diplomatic affairs, poſſeſſed all the moral virtues, and all the information, that could render him agreeable to a ſerious people.

That propoſal was wiſe; it was ſupported by every poſſible conſideration; and Geneſt was preferred. If this be an intrigue, let us pray that all intriguers may reſemble Briſſot. I ſaw Geneſt, I deſired to ſee him again, and ſhould always be delighted with his company. His judgment is ſolid, and his mind enlightened: he has as much amenity as decency of manners;

ers; his converſation is inſtructive and agreeable, and equally free from pedantry and from affectation: gentleneſs, propriety, grace, and reaſon, are his characteriſtics; and with all this merit he unites the advantage of ſpeaking Engliſh with fluency. Let the ignorant Robeſpierre, and the extravagant Chabot, declaim againſt ſuch a man, by calling him the friend of Briſſot; let them procure by their clamours, the recall of the one, and the trial of the other: they will only add to the proofs of their own villany and ſtupidity, without hurting the fame of thoſe whom they may find means to deprive of exiſtence.

During Roland's ſecond adminiſtration, as well as the firſt, I determined to receive no female, and that was a rule to which I ſcrupulouſly adhered. My circle was never very extenſive, and never did the greater part of it conſiſt of my own ſex. Beſides my neareſt relations, I ſaw nobody but the perſons whoſe congenial taſte and ſtudies gave them claims to my huſband's attention. I was ſenſible that while he was in the miniſtry, I ſhould expoſe myſelf to very troubleſome company;—to company that might even be attended with danger. It appeared to me that madame Pétion's conduct at the *Mairie** was highly prudent; and I deemed it as laudable to follow, as to ſet, a good example. Accordingly I had neither circle nor viſits: that, in the firſt place, was a great economy of time, an ineſtimable advantage to thoſe who have the means of turning it to any account. Twice a week only I gave a dinner: once to my huſband's colleagues, with a few members of the Aſſembly; and once to a mixed company, compoſed

* The reſidence of the mayor.

either

either of national repreſentatives, of firſt clerks in the public offices, or of ſuch other perſons as took a part in politics, or were concerned in the buſineſs of the ſtate. Taſte and neatneſs preſided at my table, but profuſion and the luxury of ornaments were equally unknown: every one was there at his eaſe, without devoting much time to conviviality, becauſe I gave only a ſingle courſe, and relinquiſhed to nobody the care of doing the honours of the table. The uſual number of gueſts was fifteen; it ſeldom exceeded eighteen; and once only amounted to twenty. Such were the repaſts which popular orators in the roſtrum of the Jacobins, converted into ſumptuous entertainments, where, like another Circe, I corrupted all thoſe who had the misfortune to partake of the banquet. After dinner, we converſed for ſome time in the drawing-room, and then every one took leave. We ſat down to table about five; at nine not a creature remained; and yet that was the court, of which they made me the queen, and there, with the doors wide open, did we carry on our dark and dangerous conſpiracies.

The other days, confined to our family, my huſband and myſelf generally ſat down to table alone; for the tranſaction of the public buſineſs delaying our dinner to a very late hour, my daughter dined with her governeſs in her own room. Thoſe, who ſaw me at that time, will bear witneſs in my favour, whenever the voice of truth can make itſelf heard: I ſhall then perhaps be no more; but I ſhall go out of this world with the perſuaſion, that the memory of my perſecutors will be loſt in maledictions, while my name will ſometimes be recollected with a ſigh.

Among

Among the perſons whom I was in the habit of re-
ceiving, and of whom I have already deſcribed the moſt
remarkable, *Paine* deſerves to be mentioned. Declared
a French citizen, as one of thoſe celebrated foreigners,
whom the nation was naturally deſirous of adopting, he
was known by writings which had been uſeful in the
American revolution, and which might have contri-
buted to produce one in England. I ſhall not, however,
take upon me to pronounce an abſolute judgment upon his
character, becauſe he underſtood French without ſpeak-
ing it, and becauſe that being nearly my caſe in regard
to the Engliſh language, I was leſs able to converſe with
him than to liſten to his converſation with thoſe whoſe
political ſkill was greater than my own.

The boldneſs of his conceptions, the originality of
his ſtyle, and the ſtriking truths which he throws with
defiance into the midſt of thoſe whom they offend, have
neceſſarily attracted great attention; but I think him
better fitted to ſow the ſeeds of popular commotion,
than to lay the foundation or prepare the form of a govern-
ment. Paine throws light upon a revolution better than
he concurs in the making of a conſtitution. He takes
up, and eſtabliſhes thoſe great principles, of which the
expoſition ſtrikes every eye, gains the applauſe of a
club, or excites the enthuſiaſm of a tavern; but for cool
diſcuſſion in a committee, or the regular labours of a
legiſlator, I conceive *David Williams* infinitely more pro-
per than Paine. Williams, made a French citizen alſo,
was not choſen a member of the convention, in which
he would have been of more uſe; but was invited by
the government to repair to Paris, where he paſſed ſe-
veral months, and frequently conferred with the moſt
active

active repreſentatives of the nation. A profound thinker, and a real friend to mankind, he appeared to me to combine their means of happineſs, as well as Paine feels and deſcribes the abuſes which conſtitute their miſery. I ſaw him, from the very firſt time he was preſent at the ſittings of the aſſembly, uneaſy at the diſorder of the debates, afflicted at the influence exerciſed by the galleries, and in doubt whether it were poſſible for ſuch men, in ſuch circumſtances, ever to decree a rational conſtitution. I cannot help thinking that the knowledge which he then acquired of what we were, attached him more ſtrongly to his country, to which he was impatient to return. How is it poſſible, ſaid he to me, for men to debate a queſtion, who are incapable of liſtening to each other? Your nation does not even take pains to preſerve that external decency, which is of ſo much conſequence in public aſſemblies: a giddy manner, careleſſneſs, and a ſlovenly perſon, are no recommendations of a legiſlator; nór is any thing indifferent which paſſes in public, and of which the effect is repeated every day.—Good heaven! what would he ſay at this time, if he were to ſee our ſenators dreſt, ſince the 31ſt of May, like watermen, in long trowſers, a jacket and a cap, with the boſom of their ſhirts open, and ſwearing and geſticulating like drunken *ſans-cullottes?* He would think it perfectly natural for the people to treat them like their lackeys, and for the whole nation, debaſed by its exceſſes, to crouch beneath the rod of the firſt deſpot who ſhall find means to reduce it to ſubjection.—Williams is equally competent to fill a place in the parliament, or the ſenate, and will carry with him true dignity wherever he goes.

By what ſally of imagination is Vandermonde pre-

nt to mine? Never did I ſee eyes ſo falſe, more truly xpreſs the turn of mind of the perſon to whom they be-ng. One would ſuppoſe the man to have had his un-erſtanding cut into two equal parts: with one he is apable of beginning any kind of reaſoning; but it is mpoſſible for him with the other to carry on an argu-ent, or to draw from the whole a reaſonable conclu-ion. What a poor figure does ſcience make in a head o badly organized! Accordingly Vandermonde, an *aca-demician* by the way, and the friend of Pache and of Monge, boaſted of ſerving the latter as a counſellor, nd of being called his wife. Speaking to me one day f the *cordeliers* (to which ſect he confeſſed himſelf to elong), in oppoſition to the perſons who conſidered hem as *madmen*, 'We,' ſaid he, 'deſire order by reaſon, nd you are of the party that deſires it by force.' After ſuch a definition I have nothing further to ſay of this man's crazy brain. But ſince I have been ſpeaking of an academician, I muſt ſay a word or two of *Condorcet*, whoſe mind is capable of ſoaring to the ſublimeſt truths, but whoſe ſpirit will ever be on a level with the baſe ſentiment of fear. It may be ſaid of his under-ſtanding, in relation to his perſon, that it is an exqui-ſite liquor imbibed by cotton. Never will the ſaying of, a ſtout heart in a feeble body, be applied to him: he is as defective in fortitude as in conſtitution. The timi-dity which characterizes him, and which he carries into company in his face and attitude, is not only a defect in his temperament, but ſeems to be a vice inherent in his ſoul, which all his philoſophy cannot overcome.— Hence it was, that after having ably eſtabliſhed a prin-ciple, or demonſtrated a truth, he voted in the Aſſembly

contrary

contrary to his own opinion, when obliged to ſtand up before the thundering galleries, armed with injurious words, and prodigal of menaces. He was very well in his place of Secretary to the academy: men like him may write, but ought never to be actively employed. It is even a fortunate circumſtance when they can be made of any uſe of at all, for moſt timid men are abſolutely good for nothing. Look at thoſe poltroons of the Aſſembly, pouring forth their lamentations: if they had poſſeſſed fortitude enough to procure their own arreſtation, by proteſting againſt that of the *twenty-two*, nobody would have dared to hurt a hair of the heads of two or three hundred repreſentatives of the people, the republic would have been ſaved, and the departments would not have relapſed into ſubmiſſion. The people acquieſced in the loſs of twenty men, but an aſſembly, of which one half ſhould have retired, would never have been conſidered as the national convention.

PUBLIC SPIRIT.

WHAT was the *Office for Public Spirit*, which has en objected to Roland as ſo great a crime?—I am mpted to repeat this queſtion to the very perſons who k it; for I can conceive nothing ſo chimerical as at phraſe.

Roland, reſtored to the miniſtry after the 10th of Auſt, thought that nothing was more urgent than to ffuſe the ſame ſpirit through all the departments of the ate, ſo that every thing proceeding in an uniform courſe, e ſucceſs of the revolution might be inſured: he there- re addreſſed a circular letter of that tendency to all the dminiſtrative bodies, nor did it fail to produce a favour- le effect. The Legiſlative Aſſembly felt the neceſſity ſupporting it; and for want of a body of Public In- ruction, which was not yet drawn up, determined that hundred thouſand livres (£.4167) ſhould be left the diſpoſal of the miniſter of the interior, for the urpoſe of diſperſing ſuch uſeful writings as he might ink fit.

Roland, rigid in his economy, made it his buſineſs to y out this money to the beſt advantage: availing him- lf of the public papers, then in the higheſt eſtimation, e ordered them to be forwarded *gratis* to the popular cieties, to the pariſh prieſts, and to ſuch zealous indi- iduals as appeared deſirous of contributing to the wel- re of the ſtate. Some of thoſe ſocieties, and ſeveral thoſe individuals, ſeeing that the government inter- ſted itſelf in their inſtruction, took courage, and now

and then wrote to the miniſter, to requeſt works which the Convention had ordered to be printed, and which they had not received. The miniſter, deſirous of ſatisfying them, aſſigned to one of his offices the care of anſwering thoſe letters, and of forwarding the publications deſired. In theſe things alone conſiſt all the mighty machinations which have made ſo much noiſe, and which were nothing more than the mere execution of duties impoſed by a decree. Roland was ſo careful of expence, that at the end of ſix months he had only diſburſed thirty-four thouſand livres, out of the hundred thouſand of which he was at liberty to diſpoſe; and of thoſe he delivered an exact account, together with a liſt of the works purchaſed and given away. But as in conſequence of the nature of his place, and of the circumſtances in which he found himſelf, he ſometimes drew up inſtructions, which he diſperſed in the ſame manner; and as his writings in general breathed nothing but philoſophy and a love of his fellow-creatures, fears were entertained leſt the perſonal conſideration that might thence reſult ſhould render him too powerful.

It could only be inferred that he inſpired great confidence, which, by facilitating adminiſtrative operations, was productive of conſiderable advantage; but ſuppoſing it neceſſary to prevent his acquiring too much eſteem, and too great an aſcendancy, nothing was neceſſary but to repeal the decree, and to forbid his forwarding any thing which did not neceſſarily belong to his correſpondence with the adminiſtrative bodies. It was not however any regard to the public weal, but jealouſy of the individual, which raiſed ſuch a fermentation in men's minds; and accordingly they occaſioned a clamour,

and

nd accuſed and denounced him in a vague manner, ithout pointing out the object of their complaint; for f he could have imagined its nature, he would have een the firſt to apply a remedy to the evil apprehended. nſtead of employing himſelf in that manner, he thought nly of defending himſelf, at firſt by continuing to do his uty, and afterwards by explaining his conduct, and re-uting his calumniators. His triumphant anſwers exaſ-perated envy; he was no longer mentioned but as a ublic enemy; and a real ſtruggle took place between he courageous functionary, who remained at the helm n ſpite of the tempeſt, and the jealous deceivers or de-ceived, who endeavoured to bury him beneath the waves. He ſtood firm, as long as he hoped it could anſwer any purpoſe; but the weakneſs and inſufficiency of the ſober party having been demonſtrated on an important occa-ſion, he retired.

His enemies dreaded his accounts; and prevented not only their examination, but the report of them from be-ing made to the Aſſembly. The calumniators, when once embarked, thought only of juſtifying their falſe aſper-ſions by the ruin of the man who had been the object of them; hence their redoubled efforts, their open per-ſecution directed even againſt me; and for want of well-founded reaſons, the accuſation ſo often repeated of *cor-rupting the public ſpirit*, and of an office eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe, with my pretended ſhare in the delinquency; and all without citing a *fact*, a *writing*, or even a re-prehenſible *phraſe*.—And yet Roland's glory, in future times, will be in part attached to the able and inſtructive productions of his pen!

MY SECOND ARRESTATION.

Sainte-Pelagie, Auguſt 20.

THE twenty-fourth day of my confinement in the Abbey was beginning to paſs away: the period of that confinement had been employed in ſtudy and literary labours, principally in writing *memoirs*, of which the compoſition muſt have borne marks of the excellent diſpoſition of mind I was in. The inſurrection of the 31ſt of May, and the outrages of the ſecond of June, had filled me with indignation; but I was perſuaded that the departments would not look on them with an eye of ſatisfaction, and that their reclamations, ſupported by the requiſite meaſures, would make the good cauſe triumphant. Little did I care, while indulging this hope, whether in ſome critical moment, or in the ſtruggle of expiring tyranny, I fell a victim to private hatred, or to the rage of ſome furious madman. The ſucceſs of my friends, and the triumph of true republicans, conſoled me for every thing beforehand: I could have undergone the execution of an unjuſt ſentence, or have ſunk under the ſtroke of ſome unforeſeen atrocity, with the calmneſs, the pride, and even the joy of innocence, which deſpiſes death, and knows that its wrongs will be avenged.—Here I cannot help once more expreſſing my regret for the loſs of thoſe *Memoirs*, which deſcribed ſo well the facts that had come to my knowledge, the perſons by whom I had been ſurrounded, and the ſentiments I had experienced in the varying ſucceſſion of events. I am informed that ſome of them have eſcaped deſtruction; but

but they only contain the particulars of my firſt arreſtation. The day will come perhaps when the union of thoſe fragments will afford to ſome friendly hand the means of exhibiting the truth in more glowing colours.

The publication of a groſs falſehood, and the loud bawling of the hawkers under my window, while announcing one of the numbers of the *Pere Ducheſne*, a filthy print with which Hebert, ſubſtitute of the commons of Paris, every morning poiſons the ignorant populace, who ſwallow calumny like water, perſuaded me that ſome new atrocity was in agitation. That paper pretended that its author had paid me a viſit in the Abbey, and that having obtained my confidence by aſſuming the appearance of one of the Vendean banditti, he had brought me to confeſs the connexions of Roland and the Briſſotines with the rebels of that department and with the Engliſh government. In this ridiculous ſtory, interlarded with the uſual ornaments of ſtyle of *Pere Ducheſne*, phyſical and moral probabilities were diſregarded alike. I was not only transformed into the abettor of a counter-revolution, but into an old toothleſs hag, and was exhorted to weep for my ſins till the time ſhould come for expiating them on the ſcaffold. The hawkers, in purſuance no doubt of their inſtructions, did not leave the vicinity of my reſidence for a moment, but accompanied their proclamation of *Pere Ducheſne's Great Viſit* with the moſt ſanguinary advice to the people of the market. I took up my pen, and wrote a few lines to that cowardly Garat, who thinks himſelf a ſage, becauſe he is actuated by no paſſion but fear, which makes him pay his court to whatever party chances to be uppermoſt, without the leaſt regard to juſtice. I pointed

out to him the infamy of an adminiſtration which expoſes innocence, already oppreſſed, to the laſt outrages of a blind and furious populace. I certainly had no hope of converting him; but I ſent him my farewell to prey like a vulture upon his heart. About the ſame time a young woman, who has no great talents to boaſt of, but who combines the graces of her ſex with that ſenſibility which is its principal merit, and its greateſt charm, found means to make her way into my priſon. How was I aſtoniſhed to ſee her ſweet countenance, and to feel myſelf preſſed to her boſom, and bathed in her tears! I took her for an angel; and an angel ſhe was, for ſhe is good and handſome, and had done all ſhe could to bring me news of my friends: ſhe furniſhed me alſo with the means of informing them of my ſituation. This alleviation of my captivity had contributed to make me forget it, when at noon on the 24th of June, the gaoler's wife came and begged me to ſtep into her apartment, where an adminiſtrator was waiting to ſee me.—I was in pain, and in bed—I roſe and followed her into her room, where a man was walking up and down, and another writing, without either of them appearing to perceive my arrival.—'Am I the perſon, gentlemen, whom you aſked for?'—'You are the wife of citizen Roland?'—'Yes, Roland is my name.'—'Be ſo good as to ſit down.'—The one continued to write, and the other to walk about.—I was endeavouring in vain to divine what this comedy might mean, when the *writer* deigned to addreſs me—'I am come,' ſaid he, 'to ſet you at liberty.'—I know not how it was, but I felt myſelf very little affected by the information.—'Why, indeed,' anſwered I, 'it is very right to remove me from this place;

lace; but that is not all; I wiſh to return home, and e door of my apartment is ſealed up.'—'The adminiſtra-on will have it opened in the courſe of the day; I am riting for an order, becauſe I am the only adminiſtra-or here, and two ſignatures are neceſſary for the gaoler's iſcharge.'—He roſe, delivered his meſſage, and returned o ſpeak to me, with the air of a man deſirous of in-ſpiring confidence.—'Do you know,' ſaid he all on a ſudden, and as if without deſign, 'where M. Roland is t preſent?'—I ſmiled at the queſtion, obſerved that it was not candid enough to deſerve an anſwer; and as the converſation grew tireſome, retired to my own room to prepare for my departure. My firſt idea was to dine quietly, and not to remove till towards the evening; but, upon further reflection, I thought it a folly to remain in a priſon when I was free to go away. Beſides the gaoler came to know if I was getting ready, and I plainly ſaw that he was impatient to turn me out of my lodgings. It was a little cloſet, rendered very uncom-fortable by the dirtineſs of the walls, the cloſeneſs of the grates, and the neighbourhood of a pile of wood, where all the animals belonging to the houſe depoſited their ordure; but as it could contain only one bed, and as the priſoner conſequently had the advantage of being alone, the honour of inhabiting it was generally con-ferred upon a new comer, or upon an individual deſir-ous of ſolitude. Lavacquerie (the gaoler), who had never ſeen it occupied by any body ſo contented as I was, and who uſed to admire the pleaſure I took in arrang-ing my books and my flowers, told me, that in future he ſhould call it the pavilion of Flora. I was ignorant that at the very moment he was ſpeaking he intended it

for Briſſot, whom I did not even ſuppoſe to be my neighbour; and that ſoon after, it would be inhabited by a heroine, worthy of a better age, the celebrated Charlotte Corday. My poor maid, who was juſt come to ſee me, wept for joy while packing up my things; the order for ſetting me at liberty, founded upon the want of evidence, was ſhewn to me; I ſettled my accounts, and diſtributed my little favours to the poor, and to the ſervants belonging to the priſon; and in my way out met the prince of Linanges, one of the hoſtages, who congratulated me in obliging terms upon my enlargement. I anſwered, that 'I ſhould be happy to pay him the ſame compliment, as it would be a pledge of the releaſe of our commiſſioners, and of the return of peace:'—then ſending for a hackney-coach, I walked down ſtairs, much ſurpriſed at finding that the adminiſtrator had not yet left the priſon, and at his coming to the door to ſee me into the carriage.

Driving home with the intention of leaving a few things there, and of proceeding immediately after to the houſe of the worthy people, who have adopted my daughter, I quitted the hackney-coach with that activity which never allowed me to get out of a carriage without jumping, paſſed under the gate-way as if upon wings, and ſaid cheerfully to the porter as I went by, 'Good-morrow, Lamarre.' Scarcely, however, had I got up four or five ſtairs, when two men, who ſome how or other had kept cloſe at my heels, called out '*Citoyenne* Roland!'—'What do you want?' ſaid I, turning about. —'In the name of the law, we arreſt you.' Thoſe who know what it is to feel, will eaſily conceive all that I experienced at that moment. I deſired the order to be read

read to me; and coming to a reſolution immediately, ſtepped down ſtairs, and walked haſtily acroſs the yard. —'Whither are you going?'—'To my landlord's, where I have buſineſs; follow me thither.'—The miſtreſs of the houſe opened the door with a ſmile.—'Let me ſit down and breathe,' ſaid I, 'but do not rejoice at my being ſet at liberty: it is nothing but a cruel artifice: I am no ſooner releaſed from the Abbey, than I am ordered to be confined at Sainte-Pelagie. As I am not ignorant of the reſolutions lately entered into by my ſection, I am determined to put myſelf under its protection, and will beg you to ſend thither accordingly.'—Her ſon immediately offered to go with all the warmth and indignation of a kind-hearted young man *. Two commiſſioners from the ſection came; deſired to ſee the order; and made a formal oppoſition; but they afterwards begged me to accompany them to the reſidence of the mayor, where they were going to give notice of it, and to aſſign their reaſons. With this requeſt I could not refuſe to comply. After employing the intermediate time in writing notes to my friends to inform them of my new deſtination, I took leave of a family which this ſcene had affected with terror and ſurpriſe, and was conducted to the mayor's. There I was put into a little anti-chamber with the inſpectors charged to take care of my perſon, while the commiſſioners proceeded to the office of the adminiſtrators of the police. The debate began, continued for ſome time, and grew warm. Ill at my eaſe, and diſſatisfied with the

* He was dragged to the ſcaffold on this account, and his father died of grief.

place I was in, I aſked myſelf by what fatality innocence was obliged to play the part of a criminal, expecting judgment, and to remain in the mean time expoſed to the inquiſitive eyes of every body who came into the anti-chamber. At length, out of all patience, I roſe, and opened the door of the office.—'There can certainly, gentlemen, be no harm in my being preſent at a diſcuſſion of which I am the ſubject.'—'Get you gone,' cried a little man, whom I recognized for the very Louvet that had examined me ſo awkwardly at the Abbey—'But, gentlemen, I have no intention to commit any act of violence, I am not prepared for it; I do not even aſk to be heard; I only deſire to be preſent.'—'Get you gone; get you gone.—*Gendarmes*, come hither!'—Any one would have ſuppoſed that the office was beſieged, becauſe a woman of common ſenſe wiſhed to hear what they were ſaying of her. It was however neceſſary to withdraw, that I might not be carried away by force. Soon after I perceived them making ſigns, running backwards and forwards, and ſending for a coach; and at laſt an inſpector of the police came and begged me to follow him. I turned round to the door of the office, and ſet it wide open.—'Commiſſioners of the ſection of Beaurepaire, I give you notice that they are taking me away.'—'We cannot help it; but the ſection will not forget you; it will take care that you be examined.'—'After having been ſet at liberty at one o'clock, becauſe *there was no evidence againſt me*, I ſhould be glad to know how I could become a *ſuſpected perſon*, in my way home from the Abbey, and thus give cauſe for a new detention.'—Joubert, another adminiſtrator, as violent as Louvet, and ſtill more awkward and ſtupid than

an he, addreſſing me in a magiſterial tone, confeſſed at my firſt arreſt was illegal, and that it had been neceſſary to enlarge me, that I might afterwards be taken into cuſtody according to the terms of the law. This opened to me a fine field; and I was going to avail myſelf of it; but tyrants, even when they ſuffer the truth to eſcape them, cannot bear to hear it from the lips of others; noiſe and anger left no room for reaſon; I quitted the company, and was conveyed to *Sainte-Pelagie*.

The name of this houſe, which under the old government, was inhabited by nuns, keepers of thoſe female victims of *lettres-de-cachet*, whoſe conduct was ſuppoſed to be immoral, added to its lonely ſituation in a remote quarter of the town, inhabited by what may truly be called populace, and but too well known on account of the ferocious ſpirit which it manifeſted in the month of September, by the maſſacre of ſo many prieſts: all this did not preſent my new aſylum to my eyes in a conſolatory point of view.

While a note was taking of my entry, a man of a ſiniſter countenance opened my bundle, and began to examine it with particuliar curioſity. I perceived it at the moment when he laid upon the gaoler's deſk ſome newſpapers which it contained. Surpriſed and offended at a behaviour only authorized in caſes of ſecret confinement, I obſerved that it by no means became a man to examine a woman's night clothes in ſo indecent a manner. He was accordingly ordered to let them alone; but he was the turnkey of the corridor in which I lodged; and twice a day I was doomed to ſee his horrible countenance. I was aſked if I choſe a room with one or two beds—'I am alone, and want no company.'—'But the room

room will be too ſmall.'—'It is all the ſame to me.'—Upon inquiry, it was found that they were all full, and I was conducted to a double-bedded room, ſix feet wide by twelve feet long, ſo that with the two *little tables*, and the two *chairs*, there was hardly any ſpace to ſpare. I was then informed that I muſt pay the firſt month's lodging in advance; fifteen livres for one bed; twice as much for the two. As I wanted only one, and ſhould have taken it in a room which contained no more, I paid only fifteen livres. 'But there is no water-bottle, nor other veſſel?'—'You muſt buy them,' ſaid the ſame officious perſonage, very ready to make a tender of ſervices, of which it was eaſy to perceive the intereſted motive. To theſe acquiſitions I added an ink-ſtand, paper and pens, and eſtabliſhed myſelf in my new apartment.

The miſtreſs of the houſe coming to viſit me, I made inquiry concerning my rights and the cuſtoms of the place, and was told that the ſtate allowed nothing to the priſoners.—'How then do they live?'—'They receive a plate of kidney-beans only, and a pound and a half of bread per day; but you would not be able to eat either of them.'—'I can eaſily believe that they are not like what I have been accuſtomed to; but I wiſh to know what belongs to every ſituation, and will make a trial.'—I made a trial accordingly; but, either the ſtate of my ſtomach, or want of exerciſe, made me reject the priſon diet; and I was obliged to have recourſe to Madame Bouchaud's kitchen. She had made an offer of boarding me, which I accepted; and found her fare both good and economical, in compariſon of what I might have ſent for from the cook's ſhop, at a great diſtance,

ance, and in a deſolate quarter of the town. A mut-on chop, and a few ſpoonfuls of vegetables, for dinner, a ſallad for ſupper, never any deſert, and nothing but bread and water for breakfaſt; ſuch were the diſhes I or-dered, and ſuch was the fare I had been accuſtomed to at the Abbey. I mention it here, by way of oppoſing this manner of living, to the complaints ſoon after made by the ſection of the obſervatory, of my expences at Sainte Palagie, where it was ſaid that I was endeavour-ing to corrupt the gaoler by giving treats to his family: hence great indignation among the *Sans-culottes*, and a propoſal from ſome of them to diſpatch me to the other world. This accords well with the clamorous nonſenſe of thoſe women, who pretend that by dreſſing themſelves up in fine clothes, they got admiſſion into the circle of old counteſſes, at which I preſided, in the Hotel of the Interior, and with the articles of the journal of the Mountain, which inſerts letters written to me by refrac-tory prieſts.

O Danton! thus it is that you direct the knife of the aſſaſſin againſt your victims. Strike! one more will add little to the catalogue of your crimes; but the multi-plicity of them cannot cover your wickedneſs, nor ſave you from infamy. As cruel as Marius, and more terrible than Catiline, you ſurpaſs their miſdeeds, with-out poſſeſſing their great qualities; and hiſtory will vo-mit forth your name with horror, when relating the car-nage of the firſt days of September, and the diſſolution of the ſocial body in conſequence of the events that took place on the ſecond of June.

My courage did not ſink under the new misfortunes I experienced; but the refinement of cruelty with which

they had given me a foretaſte of liberty, only to load me with freſh chains, and the barbarous care with which they took advantage of a decree, by applying to me a falſe deſignation, as the mode of legalizing an arbitrary arreſt, fired me with indignation. Feeling myſelf in that diſpoſition of mind when every impreſſion becomes ſtronger, and its effect more prejudicial to health, I went to bed; but as I could not ſleep, it was impoſſible to avoid thinking. This violent ſtate, however, never laſts long with me. Being accuſtomed to govern my mind, I felt the want of ſelf-poſſeſſion, and thought myſelf a fool for affording a triumph to my perſecutors, by ſuffering their injuſtice to break my ſpirit. They were only bringing freſh odium on themſelves, without making much alteration in the ſituation I had already found means ſo well to ſupport: had I not books and leiſure here as well as at the Abbey? I began indeed to be quite angry with myſelf for having allowed my peace of mind to be diſturbed, and no longer thought of any thing, but of enjoying exiſtence, and of employing my faculties with that independence of ſpirit which a ſtrong mind preſerves in the midſt of fetters, and which thus diſappoints its moſt determined enemies. As I felt that it was neceſſary to vary my occupations, I bought crayons, and had recourſe to drawing, which I had laid aſide ſome time. Fortitude does not conſiſt ſolely in riſing ſuperior to circumſtances by an effort of the mind, but in maintaining that elevation by ſuitable conduct and care. Whenever unfortunate or irritating events take me by ſurpriſe, I am not content with calling up the maxims of philoſophy to ſupport my courage; but I provide agreeable amuſements for my mind,

mind, and do not neglect the art of preſerving health to keep myſelf in a juſt equilibrium. I laid out my days then with a certain ſort of regularity. In the morning I ſtudied the Engliſh language in Shaftſbury's Eſſay on Virtue, and in the poetry of Thomſon. The ſound metaphyſics of the one, and the enchanting deſcriptions of the other, tranſported me by turns to the intellectual regions, and to the moſt touching ſcenes of nature. Shaftſbury's reaſon gave new ſtrength to mine, and his thoughts invited meditation; while Thomſon's ſenſibility, and his delightful and ſublime pictures, went to my heart, and charmed my imagination. I afterwards ſat down to my drawing till dinner time. Having been ſo long without handling the pencil, I could not expect to acquit myſelf with much ſkill; but we always preſerve the power of repeating with pleaſure, and of attempting with facility, whatever in our youth we have practiſed with ſucceſs. Accordingly, the ſtudy of the fine arts, conſidered as a part of the education of young women, ought, in my opinion, to be leſs directed towards the acquiſition of diſtinguiſhed talents, than to inſpiring them with the love of employment, making them contract a habit of application, and multiplying their means of amuſement; for it is thus we eſcape from that *ennui* which is the moſt cruel diſeaſe of man in ſociety; and thus we avoid the quickſands of vice, and ſeductions ſtill more to be feared than vice itſelf.

I will not then make my daughter a profeſſor *(une virtuoſe)*: I ſhall ever remember that my mother was afraid of my becoming too great a muſician, or of my devoting

devoting myſelf entirely to painting, becauſe ſhe deſired, above all things, that I ſhould be fond of the duties of my ſex, and learn to be a good houſewife, in caſe of my becoming the mother of a family. My Eudora then ſhall learn to accompany herſelf in a pleaſing manner on the harp, or to play with eaſe on the *forte piano*; and ſhall know enough of drawing, to enable her to contemplate the maſterpieces of art with pleaſure, to trace or imitate a flower which delights her, and to ſhew taſte and elegant ſimplicity in the choice of her ornaments. It is my wiſh that the mediocrity of her talents may excite neither admiration in others, nor vanity in herſelf. It is my wiſh that ſhe may pleaſe rather by her collective merit, than aſtoniſh at the firſt glance, and that ſhe may rather gain affection by her good qualities, than applauſe by her brilliant accompliſhments. But, good heavens! I am a priſoner, and a great diſtance divides us! I dare not even ſend for her to receive my embraces; for hatred purſues the very children of thoſe whom tyranny perſecutes; and no ſooner does my girl in her eleventh year appear in the ſtreets with her virgin baſhfulneſs, and her beautiful fair hair, than wretches, hired or ſeduced by falſehood, point her out as the offſpring of a conſpirator. Cruel wretches! they well know how to break a mother's heart!

Could not I have brought her with me? - - - - I have not yet ſaid what is the ſituation of a priſoner at Sainte Pelagie.

The wing appropriated to females, is divided into long and very narrow corridors, on one ſide of which are little cells like that which I have deſcribed as my lodging. There, under the ſame roof, upon the ſame line, and

d only ſeparated by a thin plaſtered partition, I dwell in e midſt of murderers and women of the town. By the de of me is one of thoſe creatures who make a trade of duction, and ſet up innocence to ſale; and above me is woman who forged aſſignats, and with a band of mon- ers to which ſhe belongs, tore an individual of her own ex to pieces upon the highway. The door of each cell ſecured by an enormous bolt, and opened every morn- ng by a man who ſtares in impudently to ſee whether ou be up or in bed: their inhabitants then aſſemble in he corridors, upon the ſtaircaſes, or in a damp or noi- ome room, a worthy receptacle for this ſcum of the earth.

It will be readily believed that I confine myſelf con- ſtantly to my cell; but the diſtance is not great enough to ſave the ear from the expreſſions which ſuch women may be ſuppoſed to utter, but which without hearing them it is impoſſible for any one to conceive.

This is not all: the wing where the men are confined, having windows in front of, and very near the building inhabited by the women, the individuals of the two ſexes of analagous character, enter into converſation, which is the more diſſolute, as thoſe who hold it are unſuſ- ceptible of fear: geſtures ſupply the place of actions, and the windows ſerve as the occaſions of the moſt ſhameful ſcenes of infamous debauchery.

Such is the dwelling reſerved for the worthy wife of an honeſt man!—If this be the reward of virtue on earth, who will be aſtoniſhed at my contempt of life, and at the reſolution with which I ſhall be able to look death in the face? It never appeared to me in a formidable ſhape; but at preſent it is not without its charms; and I could

could embrace it with pleaſure, if my daughter did not invite me to ſtay a little longer with her, and if my voluntary *exit* would not furniſh calumny with weapons againſt my huſband, whoſe glory I ſhould ſupport, if they ſhould dare to carry me before a tribunal.

In the latter part of Roland's adminiſtration, conſpiracies and threats ſucceeded each other ſo faſt, that our friends often preſſed us to leave the hotel during the night. Two or three times we yielded to their entreaties; but ſoon growing tired of this daily removal, I obſerved that malevolence would hardly go ſo far as to violate the abode of a man in office, while it might waylay and immolate him out of doors; and that, after all, if ſuch a misfortune were to happen, it would be more conducive to public utility, and to his perſonal glory, for the miniſter to periſh at his poſt.

Accordingly we no longer ſlept out; but I had my huſband's bed brought into my own room, that we might run the ſame hazard, and under my pillow or upon my night-table I kept a piſtol, which I meaned to uſe, not for a vain defence, but to ſave myſelf from the outrages of aſſaſſins, in caſe I ſhould ſee them approach. In that ſituation I paſſed three weeks; and certain it is that the hotel was twice beſet, and that another time the Marſeillois, hearing that ſome villanous project or other was on foot, ſent eighty of their people to guard us. It is certain alſo that the Jacobins and Cordeliers were for ever repeating in their tribune, that a 10th of Auguſt was as neceſſary againſt Roland as it had been againſt Louis XVI; but as they ſaid ſo, it might be preſumed that they were not ready to realize their threat. Death, which I cheerfully braved at that time, cannot but appear

ear desirable to me at Sainte-Pelagie, did not powerful conſiderations chain me to the earth.

My keepers ſoon began to ſuffer more than myſelf from my ſituation, and were at great pains to render it leſs diſagreeable. The exceſſive heat of the month of July rendered my priſon uninhabitable. The paper with which I covered the grates, did not prevent the ſun from ſtriking upon the white walls of my narrow cell, and though my windows remained open all night, the burning and concentrated air of the day did not get cool.

The gaoler's wife invited me to paſs my days in her apartment; but I limited my acceptance of this offer to the afternoon. It was then I thought of ſending for a *forte-piano*, which I put into her room, and with which I ſometimes charmed away the heavy hours. But what a modification did my moral ſituation ſuffer during that period! The riſing of ſome of the departments ſeemed to announce the indignation they had conceived at the violence offered to their repreſentatives, and their reſolution of avenging it, by reſtoring the convention to its former integrity.

I knew that Roland was in a ſafe and peaceful retreat, receiving the conſolation, and the attentions of friendſhip; my daughter, taken into the houſe of venerable patriarchs, continued her exerciſes, and her education, under their immediate inſpection, and with their own children; and my friends, the fugitives, welcomed at Caen, were there ſurrounded by a reſpectable force. I thought I ſaw the ſalvation of the republic growing out of events; and reſigned to my own fate, I was happy ſtill; for our happineſs depends leſs on external ob-

jects, than on the diſpoſitions and affections of the mind. I employed my time in an uſeful and agreeable manner; I ſometimes ſaw the four perſons who uſed to viſit me at the Abbey; the worthy *Grandpré*, whoſe place authoriſed him to come, and who came accompanied by a charming woman; the faithful Boſc, who brought me flowers from the *Jardin des Plantes*, of which the beautiful forms, the brilliant colours, and the ſweet fragrance, diminiſhed the horrors of my melancholy abode; and the kind Champagneux, who perſuaded me ſo earneſtly to continue the hiſtorical memoirs I had begun, that at his deſire I reſumed my pen, and for a while laid by my Tacitus and my Plutarch, to whom I was accuſtomed to devote my afternoons.

Madame Bouchaud did not think it enough to have offered me the uſe of her apartment. Perceiving that I availed myſelf of it with great reſerve, ſhe determined to remove me altogether from my gloomy cell, and to lodge me in a comfortable room with a fire-place, ſituated on the ground floor, and underneath her own chamber. Thus am I delivered from the ſhocking company which for three weeks has been my greateſt torment. It will no longer be neceſſary for me to paſs twice a day through a throng of the women of my neighbourhood, for the purpoſe of getting out of their way for a little time at leaſt. I ſhall no longer ſee the turnkey of ſiniſter countenance open my door every morning, and ſhut me in every night with a monſtrous bolt, like a criminal whom it is neceſſary to keep in cloſe confinement. It is the good-natured face of Madame Bouchaud, which offers itſelf to my eyes; whoſe kind attentions I perceive every moment. There is nothing, even to

the very jeſſamine carried up before my window and winding its flexible branches round the bars, that does not teſtify her deſire to oblige. I look upon myſelf as her boarder, and forget my captivity. All my articles of ſtudy and amuſement are united around me; my *forte-piano* is by my bedſide, and receſſes in the walls afford me the means of arranging my little effects in ſuch a way as to preſerve in my aſylum that neatneſs in which I delight. . . . . But gold, and falſehood, and intrigue, and arms, are employed againſt the departments which the truth was beginning to enlighten: ſoldiers deluded, or bought over, betray the brave Normans; Evreux is evacuated; Caen abandons the members to which it had afforded a refuge; domineering banditti, in what is ſtill called a convention, declare them traitors to their country; their perſons are outlawed; their property is confiſcated; their wives and children are taken into cuſtody; their houſes are demoliſhed; the members who choſe to remain in confinement are impeached, without any reaſon being aſſigned; and every thing announces the triumph of audacious guilt over unfortunate virtue. That cowardice which marks the ſelfiſhneſs and corruption of a degenerate people, whom we thought it poſſible to reclaim by the light of reaſon, but who were too far debaſed; that cowardice delivers over to terror the perfidious adminiſtrators, and the ignorant multitude. Every where the idea of peace and the deſire of repoſe, always illuſory when it is not deſerved, counſel the acceptance of a monſtrous conſtitution, which, had it even been better, ought not to have been received from the unworthy hands that held it out. There, where any reſiſtance might have ariſen, it is ſtifled by

corruption; and the money of the nation is lavished to inſure the ſucceſs of its oppreſſors. In their ſilly ſtupor, a majority, incapable of reaſoning, conſider the ſacrifice of a few individuals as a trifling misfortune; they think to eſtabliſh juſtice, peace, and ſecurity, for themſelves, by ſuffering them to be violated in the perſons of their repreſentatives; and receive the pledge of their ſervitude as the ſign of ſalvation. In the mean time a rod of iron is held over the weak Pariſians, the puſillanimous witneſſes of horrors, which they lament, but dare not make known: famine threatens them; poverty preys upon their vitals; oppreſſion overwhelms them; the reign of proſcriptions begins; denunciations come ſhowering down on every ſide; and the priſons overflow. Every where an infamous recompenſe awaits him who has a victim to offer; the porters of private houſes, kept ſecretly in pay, become the chief informers, and ſervants are no longer any thing but ſpies.

An aſtoniſhing woman taking counſel, from her courage alone, came to inflict death upon the apoſtle of murder and pillage. She deſerves the admiration of the univerſe. But not being well acquainted with the ſtate of things, her time and her victim were ill choſen. There was a greater criminal, to whom her immolating hand ſhould have given the preference. The death of Marat only ſerved the purpoſes of his abominable ſectaries: they transformed into a martyr the man whom they had taken for a prophet; and fanaticiſm and knavery, always in a league, derived from this event an advantage ſimilar to that which the murder of le Pelletier had procured them. Certainly that murder had been too fatal in its conſequences to permit us to think that the

fugitive

fugitive members, entire ſtrangers to the action of Paris*, were not equally ſo to that of Charlotte Corday; but their adverſaries laid hold of it as a new mean of ruining them in the minds of the people. The moſt determined republicans, the only men of the aſſembly who joined to the courage of ſtrict probity the authority of talents and knowledge, were repreſented as the favourers of deſpotiſm, and vile conſpirators. At one time they are ſuppoſed to be in a league with the rebels of La Vendée, and on the ſabres of the warriors deſirous of defending them, the words *Vive Louis XVII.* are ſaid to be inſcribed: at another time they are accuſed of endeavouring to divide France into little republics, and are reprobated as federaliſts. It is with equal conſiſtency that Briſſot is taken into Engliſh pay, and that his wife, in a report ſent to all the departments, is gravely repreſented as having retired to the queen's apartments at Verſailles, and as holding ſecret councils there.

Nothing can be more ridiculous than this ſtory to thoſe who are acquainted with Briſſot's wife, devoted to the domeſtic virtues, wholly taken up with the cares of her houſhold, ironing her huſband's ſhirts herſelf, looking through the key-hole to ſee if ſhe may ſafely open the door to thoſe who knock, and hiring a little miſerable room in the village of St. Cloud, in order to have it in her power to carry the child that ſhe has juſt weaned into the open air. But ſhe is taken into cuſtody; is conducted to Paris; and a guard is placed over her. Petion's wife, who was going to retire among her friends

* The murderer of le Pelletier.

till the ſtorm ſhould blow over, is arreſted with her ſon. Miranda, whom the revolutionary tribunal had acquitted, is remanded to priſon as a ſuſpected perſon, on the information of his valet, a ſpy of Pache; all the generals are put under arreſt; and Cuſtine, whom, as I have been told by the prince de Linanges, the Auſtrians dreaded more than any of the reſt, is threatened with the loſs of his head. Diſorganization ſpreads itſelf over the whole face of France, and a civil war breaks out in a variety of places. The acceptance of the conſtitution cannot procure for Lyons an act of oblivion for the juſtice it dared to execute on two or three of Marat's banditti; it is called upon to deliver up the heads of its richeſt inhabitants, and to pay a conſiderable ſum of money; the high ſpirited Marſeilles ſends ſuccour to the Lyonneſe; and troops are recalled from the frontiers, which are left expoſed to the ravages of the enemy, in order to ſet brother againſt brother, and to ſpill the blood of Frenchmen by the hands of the French themſelves. In the mean time the enemy advances in the north; Valenciennes no longer exiſts; Cambray is blocked up; and the Auſtrian light troops appear in the environs of Peronne. Paris, like another Babylon, ſees its brutiſh populace run in crowds to ridiculous feſtivals, or feaſt their eyes upon the blood of a multitude of wretches ſacrificed to their ferocious diſtruſt; while the ſelfiſh and unfeeling fill the theatres, and the timid citizen ſtays trembling at home, where he is not ſure of ſleeping, if it pleaſe his neighbour to ſay that he has made uſe of *uncivic* expreſſions, blamed the carnage of the 2d of September, or lamented the fate of the victims of Orleans, put to death without proof of their being privy

to

to an aſſaſſination which was *not* committed on the perſon of the infamous Bourdon. O my country! into what hands art thou fallen. Chabot and his fellows announce that Roland is at Lyons, affirm that he is exciting an inſurrection in that city, and call for his impeachment and for mine: and at the ſame time they ſearch the cellars of the obſervatory, and inveſt the houſe of one of his friends, where they ſuppoſe him to lie concealed.

All my friends are proſcribed, fugitives, or in confinement; my huſband only eſcapes from the fury of his adverſaries by keeping cloſe in a retreat which may be compared to the ſevereſt impriſonment; and it is even decreed that the few perſons who come to conſole me ſhall undergo perſecution.—Grandpré, dining in company with a man whom he did not know to be a juſtice of peace, and a member of the tribunal of the diſtrict, lamented the negligence of the magiſtrates, who ſuffered ſo many perſons to languiſh in the priſons. On this the unknown perſonage diſcovered himſelf; affected a great deſire to be made acquainted with abuſes, to the reform of which he might have it in his power to contribute; and begged Grandpré to let him have his name and addreſs, that he might call, and take him with him in his next viſit to the priſons. That was only a pretext,—the juſtice of peace haſtened to the committee of general ſafety, and fabricated an atrocious denunciation againſt Grandpré, whom he accuſed of being an accomplice in the death of Marat.—It ſeems as if we were living in the time of Tiberius; for, like his, this is the reign of informers.—Grandpré was taken up by an officer and four muſketeers, who repaired to his apartment at five o'clock in the morning; ranſacked his papers, and ſealed

up his effects. He had then about him a letter addreſſed by me to the unfortunate Briſſot. What a crime might be made of this, to *me* for having written it, and to *him* for being the bearer! Luckily he found means to conceal it from their ſearch; but it was not till after a tedious debate that he could obtain permiſſion to remain under a guard at his office, inſtead of going to ſleep at the abbey; nor was it till after the expiration of ſeveral days, that means were found to demonſtrate the falſity of the charge.

Champagneux was leſs fortunate: to the crime of owing his appointment to Roland, he joined that of occupying a deſirable place.—Collot d'Herbois went drunk to the office of the home department, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, at the moment that the clerks had juſt left their deſks to go to dinner: his buſineſs was to demand carriages, of which the miniſter had not the diſpoſal. In a rage at not finding Garat, he ſwore, ſtormed, broke the legs of the chairs and table *, went to the apartment of Champagneux, the firſt clerk, abuſed him, ordered the packets that were made up for the poſt-office to be opened, and quarrelled about the incloſure they contained. It was a kind of circular letter, conſiſting of queſtions, and intended to procure information concerning the ſtate of the country. In his heated brain he arranged a denunciation, which he brought forward the next day, at the Convention, and on the ſtrength of which a decree of arreſt was paſſed both againſt Garat and Champagneux.

Garat came to the bar, made no complaint of Collot,

* Theſe facts may appear exaggerated; but they are ſtrictly true. I had them from an eye-witneſs, whoſe veracity is undoubted. They are confirmed by a late publication of Garat's.

explained

explained his conduct in the gentleſt terms, pronounced a falſome panegyric on the auguſt aſſembly, and was ſent back to his duty. Champagneux at firſt hid himſelf in a fright, but afterwards appeared. He was referred by the Convention to the Committee, and by the Committee was ſent a priſoner to the *Force*. Garat ſolicited by others, and having an intereſt himſelf in the enlargement of Champagneux, whoſe ſervices he could not diſpenſe with, repaired to the Committee to obtain it. There he made it appear, that, without the aſſiſtance of a man ſo converſant in buſineſs, it would be impoſſible for him to remain in office, and by his friends, ſuch as Barrere, if men like Barrere can be called friends, was encouraged to hope, that by offering his conditional reſignation, Champagneux would be reſtored to him, as an inducement to continue in adminiſtration; but the reſt of the Committee ſpoke out in plainer terms. He was required to fill up the place of Champagneux: his liberty and his life depended on his compliance. He was required to fill it up by the appointment of a young man, twenty-ſix years of age, deſtitute of experience in buſineſs, of all kinds of knowledge, and of every recommendation but the favour of the Committee, of which he was a tool. Garat, who never refuſed his maſters any thing, ſubmitted and then retired from his office, abandoning a poſt it was impoſſible for him to maintain *.

* Parê, formerly head-clerk to Danton, who had got him appointed ſecretary to the Council on Grouvelle's departure, ſucceeded Garat; and the ex-miniſter, happy to effect a change, which, by delivering him from a place of reſponſibility, conferred on him one of twenty thouſand livres a year, became ſecretary of the Council. It is not altogether uſeleſs to remark, that *Deforgues*, miniſter of foreign affairs, was alſo one of Danton's clerks.

But

But Champagneux was not ſet at liberty, and the fourth week of his detention has already paſſed. At the moment he was threatened with an arreſt (for Collot had announced it as an act that would neceſſary follow his volition), Champagneux was in poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole of my *Hiſtorical Memoirs*, the exiſtence of which he wiſhed to inſure by taking a copy. Uneaſy, agitated, and not doubting but the principles by which they were dictated, and the freedom with which they were written, were a direct paſſport to the ſcaffold, he committed them to the flames.—Yet theſe are the governors of the empire!—Collot, a ſtrolling player by profeſſion, by whoſe ſide ſits a judge of the ſouthern departments, who not long ſince condemned him to a year's impriſonment for an offence which he committed while a vagrant from barn to barn, and for which ſeveral of the judges wiſhed to ſend him to the galleys!—Great ſtrength of lungs, the geſtures of a jack-pudding, the manœuvres of a knave, the extravagance of a madman, and the effrontery of ignorance; ſuch were his means of ſucceſs at the clubs, particularly at the club of the Jacobins, who were not aſhamed to mention him at the time of the formation of the patriotic miniſtry under Louis XVI.

Collot thinking himſelf ill uſed by the appointment of Roland to the home department, to which he had directed his views, deemed him the more worthy of his hatred, as being an enemy by whom he was overlooked. From that moment his Jacobinical influence was directed againſt him, and that conduct, added to his other relative

qualities, procured him a ſeat in the Convention, as one of the Pariſian deputation.

Champagneux, in his confinement, regrets his liberty leſs than the pleaſure of ſometimes alleviating my captivity, while I am afflicted at *his*, which he owes to his connexion with Roland and myſelf. As to Boſc, who has already given up his place of adminiſtrator at the poſt-office, and whom I endeavour to perſuade not to run the riſk of a priſon by viſiting me in mine, I ſee him once a week, as it were by ſtealth. In the midſt of all theſe ſorrows, I can however offer my friends a ſeat in the pleaſant room, where the kind-hearted Madame Bouchaud has ſequeſtered me from all the appearances of a priſon. I am there expoſed, it is true, to the inconvenience of having a ſentry planted directly oppoſite my window, on whoſe account I am always obliged to keep my curtains drawn, and who comes to liſten to every thing that is ſaid when I am not alone; and I am diſturbed by the horrible barking of three great dogs, whoſe kennel is at leſs than ten paces diſtance. I am alſo cloſe to a large room, pompouſly ſtyled the council-chamber, where the adminiſtrators of the police do their buſineſs when they come to examine a priſoner. It is to this neighbourhood that I am indebted for the knowledge of ſome curious ſcenes, of which I am going to ſay a few words.

Two men, whoſe names I once knew, and have either forgotten, or do not chooſe to repeat, becauſe the names of ſuch wretches are not deſerving of mention, had been ſent to priſon for their malverſations in the clothing of the troops, in which department of the public ſervice they were employed. They had for friends, or for accomplices,

accomplices, ſome people of their own deſcription, and thoſe people were actually adminiſtrators of the police. Charged in that quality with the maintenance of order in the priſons, and the ſuperintendance of the gaolers, they came to Sainte-Pelagie once or twice a week, with other friends like themſelves, ten or twelve in number, and ſometimes more, ſent for the two darling priſoners to the council-chamber, and there making the gaoler give them capons, chickens, eggs, wine, cordials, coffee, &c. conſumed them at his expence, and kept up their orgies three or four hours together. No one would ever imagine, and moſt aſſuredly I ſhall not undertake to relate the brutal joy, the fulſome converſation, and the infamy of theſe entertainments. The word patriotiſm, ſtupidly applied, and repeated emphatically on every mention of the ſcaffold, to which it was proper to ſend all *ſuſpected perſons*; that denomination beſtowed upon every one who had received a good education, or was poſſeſſed of a fortune not recently ſtolen; the diſguſting kiſſes from thoſe mouths, reeking with wine, ſmacking upon the cheeks of the new comers, and repeated in concert at the moment of breaking up; the obſcene jeſts of men deſtitute of all morality, and ſtrangers to all ſhame; and the ſilly pride of atrocious blockheads, who dreamed of nothing but denunciations, and whoſe ſole ſcience conſiſted in impriſoning their betters. - - - - - -

Plato might well compare democracy to an *auction* of government, a kind of *fair*, where all poſſible modes of adminiſtration are intermixed. But how would he characterize that ſtate of ſociety where men like theſe are arbiters of the liberty of their fellow-citizens? Whenever

ver this agreeable company came, Bouchaud or his wife ever failed to withdraw my key from the door, and to ive me notice of their arrival. At laſt I took my re-olution, and ſhut my ears againſt their noiſe; I even ound an entertainment in continuing my *Hiſtorical Me-oirs*, and in writing vigorous paſſages, before the eyes, s it were, of wretches who would have torn me to ieces if they had heard only a ſingle phraſe.

As the 10th of Auguſt was at hand, and fears were en-ertained of a rehearſal of the 2d of September, in the riſons, the adminiſtrators found means to get out the ogues of their acquaintance; and by ſo doing put an nd to the civic feaſts at Sainte-Pelagie. If I could per-ſuade myſelf to meddle with ſuch diſguſting matters, I could give very aſtoniſhing, and very ſhocking ac-counts, of the abuſes that prevail in the priſons—the criminals would there be ſeen converting into accom-plices almoſt all the ſervants, and other perſons con-cerned in the buſineſs of the place; women of the town, guilty of ſerious offences, obtaining their enlargement without a trial, by means of the adminiſtrator, who ſleeps with them the night after; aſſaſſins, rich enough to pay an advocate *(defenſeur officieux)* with the produce of their robberies, bribing him to deſtroy the vouchers, and procure the impunity, of their crimes; and profeſſed thieves keeping up their intrigues with one another, and with their accomplices without; thieving ſtill, though immured in a priſon; and dividing the ſpoils with the turnkey, or with the *gendarme*, who appears to guard them. Every thing gets tainted or completely ſpoiled in theſe infectious places under a vicious adminiſtra-

tion,

tion, desiring only to destroy, careless of correcting and actuated by passion alone.—'Compassionate and generous Howard, who wanderedst over all Europe to visit those gloomy dungeons, in which the wisdom of an equitable government ought never to let innocence languish, and where it should also take care to distinguish weakness from criminality, how would your feeling heart have been hurt if you had been perfectly acquainted with the management of the prisons belonging to the nation then esteemed the gentlest upon earth!' There no distinction is made between giddy youth and hardened guilt. I have seen a botanical student, who had spoken ill of Marat, confined in the same room with highway robbers. There no respect is shewn to morals. I have seen a girl of fourteen, who was claimed by her parents, detained in the same cell with the infamous woman who had just seduced her, and who had been taken up for that offence. There no regard is had to decency, or attention to salubrity, in the construction of the edifice, or in the laying out of the internal space. A building is now erecting at Sainte-Pelagie, on an immense piece of ground, by an architect of confined ideas, a man of no mind, who is taking measures contrary to every principle of rationality, and yet no person in the superior branches of administration is either able or willing to correct his plan.

Here I must do justice to the present keeper. He does what he can in matters of detail, but nothing can prevent the bad consequences resulting from an organization essentially vicious. There ought to be either distinct houses, some appropriated to criminals, and others to suspicious or suspected persons, or else wings entirely detached;

ttached; nor ſhould there be any communication be-
ween the two ſexes. But as this is not the place for a
reatiſe upon the ſubject, I can only lament the deſtiny
f a people, in the eſtabliſhment of whoſe liberty it is
mpoſſible for thoſe to believe who have once been wit-
eſſes to its extreme corruption.

On my firſt coming to Sainte-Pelagie, I was waited
pon by a woman, confined for ſome trifling offence.
Her ſervices were an aſſiſtance to my weakneſs, while I
had the means of making them an alleviation of her diſ-
treſs. Not but that I was very well able to be my own
ſervant: *Tout ſied bien au généreux courage* *,' was ſaid of
Favonius performing for Pompey in his misfortunes the
offices which valets are accuſtomed to perform for their
maſters. This may be applied with equal truth to the
unfortunate man, ſtripped of his fortune, and providing
for all his wants, and to the auſtere philoſopher, diſdain-
ing every ſuperfluity. Quintius † was roaſting his tur-
nips when he received the ambaſſadors of the Sam-
nites; and I could have made my bed at Sainte-Pe-
lagie; but, as in fetching water, and things of the like
kind, it was neceſſary to go through long paſſages, and
to mix with their various inhabitants, I was not ſorry
to have a perſon whom I could oblige by ſending her
on ſuch errands. She continued to aſſiſt me in the room
I had been indulged with, and was coming in one
morning at the very moment that an adminiſtrator was

* Every thing becomes a nob'e ſpirit.

† By *Quintius*, Madame Roland means *Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus*, but *Marcus Curius Dentatus* is the perſonage of whom this anecdote is related by the Roman hiſtorians: '*Legatis Samnitum aurum offerentibus, quum ipſe in foco rapa torreret*,' &c. *Plin. de viris illuſtribus.* Tranſ.

at

at the door of the council-chamber. He aſked who lodged there; deſired to inſpect the room; came in; caſt an angry eye around him; and then went out, and complained to the keeper's wife of the degree of comfort ſhe allowed me to enjoy.—'Madame Roland was indiſpoſed (that was true); and I put her more in the way of receiving ſuch aſſiſtance as ſhe might ſtand in need of; beſides ſhe ſometimes amuſes herſelf with a *forte piano*, for which there is not room in a cell.'—'She muſt do without it: ſend her this very day into a corridor: it is your buſineſs to maintain equality.'

Unfeeling wretch! is it to maintain equality that you wiſh to confound me with the moſt abandoned of women?—Madame Bouchard, more diſtreſſed than can well be imagined, ſoon came to communicate to me the order ſhe had received. I conſoled her by conforming to it with much calmneſs and reſignation; and it was agreed that I ſhould come down in the courſe of the day to change the air, and to return to my ſtudies, the materials for which I left where they were. Thus am I once more deſtined to ſee the turnkeys, to hear the creaking of the bolts, to breathe the fetid air of a corridor, ſadly illumined in the evening by a lamp, of which the thick ſmoke blackens all the walls, and ſuffocates the neighbourhood. Theſe are the humane actions, the ſigns of liberty given by thoſe men, who upon the ruins of the Baſtille recall to our recollection the cruelty of the governor killing Lauzun's ſpider, and who, in the *Champ de Mars*, ſend up birds carrying ſtreamers, to announce to the inhabitants of the upper regions the felicity of the earth. Inſolent comedians! you are playing your laſt parts: the enemy is at hand.—By the enemy I mean the departments

partments endeavouring to inſure the triumph of reaſon and of true liberty, and preparing your ruin.

Mine is inevitable, no doubt; I have deſerved the hatred of all tyrants; but I only regret that of my country, which your chaſtiſement will conſole, but cannot ſave.

As to the reſt, the conſequences of oppreſſion have filled the corridor I inhabit with women in whoſe company I can remain without ſhame, and even with pleaſure. I have found there the wife of a juſtice of peace, whoſe neighbour aſcribes to her expreſſions ſtyled uncivic; I have found there the wife alſo of the preſident of the revolutionary tribunal; and there I have found Madame Pétion.—'I little thought,' ſaid I on accoſting her, 'when I was ſharing your uneaſineſs at the *Mairie* *, on the 10th of Auguſt, 1792, that we ſhould keep our ſad anniverſary at Sainte-Pelagie, and that the fall of the throne would lead to our diſgrace.'

* The reſidence of the mayor.

RAPID OBSERVATIONS

On the Indictment drawn up by AMAR *againſt the Members of the Convention.*

IF there have exiſted a *conſpiracy againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the republic, againſt the liberty and the ſafety of the French people*, it is evident that it can only have been formed by the abettors of deſpotiſm, by ambitious men, wiſhing to monopolize power and riches, or by the enemies of mankind.

Briſſot, Genſonné, Vergniaux, Guadet, Gorſas, Petion, Buzot, &c. are accounted ſuch. Theſe men muſt then have ſhewn, on more occaſions than one, their hatred of liberty, their thirſt of gain, their eagerneſs to obtain places, all the vices and corruption, in ſhort, that are natural to ſuch characters. Suppoſing even that they had aſſumed the maſk of hypocriſy, it was impoſſible for the end they had in view to remain concealed: their conduct muſt have betrayed it, and their intereſted motives muſt have evidently appeared. Let us enquire into what they were; let us ſee how they have acted; and we ſhall be able to judge of what is laid to their charge. After that it will be time to go in ſearch of the *conſpiracy* itſelf, which very poſſibly may reſemble the ſtory of the *golden tooth* *; or may amount to nothing more than the well-

* After ſome of the greateſt natural hiſtorians and philoſophers in Europe had been long employed in endeavouring to account for the exiſtence of a golden tooth in a living ſubject, they found out with ſurpriſing ſagacity that the tooth was a falſe one. *Tranſ.*

well-known efforts of ariſtocrates and royaliſts, manifeſted as early as the infancy of the revolution, and connected with the enterprizes of foreign powers.—Let us look at a few of theſe men in private life before the year 1789, the æra when the buſy ſcene of politics, then opening, firſt brought them forward to public view; and let us obſerve the courſe they afterwards purſued. Advocates for the moſt part, ſome had diſtinguiſhed themſelves at the bar, others had made themſelves known in the republic of letters; ſeveral, remarkable only for the integrity they had diſplayed in their profeſſions, were ſeated in the States General, by the eſteem that integrity had procured them, while ſeveral others devoted themſelves to the laborious, but honourable functions of journaliſts, and ſtruggled courageouſly with deſpotiſm driven to deſpair.

Pétion, ſimple in his manners, moderate in his deſires, and married to a woman of excellent ſenſe, reſided at Chartres. Eſteemed by his fellow-citizens, who had witneſſed his birth, and already noted for that philoſophy which marks a good underſtanding, at an early period in life he was deemed worthy of a ſeat in the aſſembly of the ſtates.

Buzot, diſtinguiſhed at Evreux by his ſtrict probity, and premature prudence, inſpired confidence, and deſerved conſideration at an age when ſo many others think of nothing but pleaſure. A taſte for ſtudy, and the ſolitary habits of a meditative mind, filled up all thoſe moments which he did not devote to the bar; while manners equally pure and gentle, rendered him dear to his friends. The warmth of his ſentiments, the eaſe of his elocution, and the auſterity of his principles, procured him

the honourable office of carrying his country's complaints and demands to the States General.

Gorſas, the father of a numerous family, undertook, from the very beginning of the revolution, to conduct a periodical paper, in which he combated the ſtill powerful court, and devoted himſelf to the defence of the people, always endeavouring to eſtabliſh, and never neglecting to reclaim, their rights.

Briſſot, a writer from his early youth, had preached liberty in the time of deſpotiſm, and humanity during the reign of tyranny: he had long prayed for the revolution, had helped to bring it forward by expoſing the abuſes of the times, and had undergone impriſonment as a puniſhment for the freedom of his writings. More taken up with moral truths in politics than with the care of his fortune, he had engaged in ſeveral ſpeculations, the failure of which had increaſed his poverty without injury to his honour. The revolution was the ſignal of his political life: he began his career in the midſt of ſtorms, diſcuſſing principles, ſparing no one who appeared to violate them, and labouring without intermiſſion for the public weal.

I ſtop for a moment at theſe four perſonages: the two firſt made a figure in the conſtituent aſſembly; Briſſot obtained a ſeat in the ſucceeding legiſlature; and all four became members of the Convention. Was there a ſingle circumſtance in which they acted unlike themſelves? Did they aſſume any authority? Did they acquire any wealth? Or did they aim at the ſupreme power for themſelves and their friends?

Petion and Buzot ſerved the cauſe of liberty in the conſtituent aſſembly, with a zeal and conſtancy which procured them the hatred of ariſtocracy, and the favour of the people: but popular favour is inconſtant, while perſevering hatred gains freſh ſtrength by the acceſſion of all the jealous, whoſe attacks never fail to follow any brilliant ſucceſs. Buzot, belonging to the criminal tribunal of Evreux, preferred doing his duty in his native country to the exerciſe of the ſame functions at Paris, which would have better ſuited an ambitious man; he ſupported his reputation in the preſence of his fellow-citizens, and of the enemies he had made himſelf by his civiſm; and obtained by his merit a ſeat in the Convention, after having eſtabliſhed a popular ſociety in the town, as an indiſpenſable barrier againſt the ſtruggles of deſpotiſm in chains, but not ſubdued. It cannot be ſaid that he had either his re-election, or any kind of employ in view on leaving the conſtituent aſſembly, any more than Petion; for they were the very men who procured the paſſing of the decree forbidding the members of that aſſembly to hold any place or to be re-elected for four years to come. They had even demanded an interval of ſix; but at the time of the reviſion that decree was repealed, in ſpite of their endeavours to maintain it. Buzot then entered the Convention as pure as he had left the conſtituent aſſembly; and there for a while we will leave him. We ſhall ſee hereafter how he conducted himſelf, and ſhall be able to judge whether a man who braved clamour and outrages in ſupport of his opinions, even admitting ſome of them to be erroneous, could be an ambitious hypocrite, or a conſpirator.

Petion was elevated to the mayoralty by popular favour, and preſerved it till after the 10th of Auguſt, as well as the hatred of the court, which manifeſted itſelf on every occaſion, even to the very laſt. It is only of late that any one has ventured to accuſe him of going to the palace for the purpoſe of defending it, while it is well known that he was expoſed to its fire. The calumniating aſſertion of his having given *Mandat* orders to fire upon the people, is alſo of recent date. I aſk what could tempt Petion, deteſted by the court, and beloved by the people, to betray the latter, and ſerve the former, when it ſtood on the very brink of ruin? Could he who had acquired popularity by combating regal power, have any reaſon to forfeit it, when the people were beginning to obtain power? Let us put the philoſopher and the zealous citizen out of the queſtion: let us look only to the man; and we ſhall ſee that even in the eſtimation of ambition and ſelf-intereſt, the conduct attributed to Petion would have been abſurd; and that if he had not too much principle, he had at leaſt too much good ſenſe, to fall into ſuch an error. He was prevented by his office from putting himſelf at the head of the inſurrection; and to prevent his oppoſing it, he ſhould have been rendered incapable of acting, or confined. This the heedleſs commune forgot to do, and I remember, that Lanthenas went twice from the *Mairie* to the town-houſe, to adviſe their putting a ſtrong guard on his hotel. The reporter (Amar) did not ſay a ſyllable of the maſſacres of the ſecond of September: he wiſely avoided the danger of touching on a queſtion, both ſides of which had been ſupported by the Mountaineers. When Roland denounced thoſe maſſacres, the Jacobins ſaid they were the work of the people and of its vengeance:

geance: they even made it a crime not to applaud them; and when Petion, with the reſt of the right ſide, obtained a decree to proſecute the murderers, Petion and the right ſide were called the enemies of liberty and of the people. But when the decree had fallen into deſuetude, when the Jacobins triumphed, and the twenty-two were proſcribed, the Jacobins themſelves, and Hebert among the firſt of them, impudently aſſerted that the maſſacres were Petion's work.

Guadet, *Vergniaux*, and *Genſonné*, diſtinguiſhed by their talents, and well known at Bourdeaux as friends to the revolution, were elected members of the legiſlative aſſembly. They were the firſt men for talents in that body, a kind of ariſtocracy which procured them more numerous and more dangerous enemies than any want of civiſm could have done. They alternately filled the preſident's chair on the tenth of Auguſt, at that critical moment when the weak would have trembled at ſuch a painful pre-eminence; nor can any but knaves reproach them with the moderation and the temper they diſplayed in their conduct at that intereſting period. Briſſot naturally became intimate with them, becauſe he approached nearer to their level than any other perſon, in like manner as a ſimilarity of ſentiments had made him connect himſelf with the defenders of principles in the conſtituent aſſembly, to which he did not belong: the countryman and friend of Petion, he became acquainted with ſuch of his colleagues as ſupported that cauſe in favour of which his journal was compoſed.

He had laboured under the ſame miſtake as many other perſons, in regard to la Fayette; or rather it may be ſaid, that la Fayette, ſwayed at firſt by the principles

he had adopted, had no longer the ſtrength of mind neceſſary to ſupport them when the ſtruggle became difficult; or that, fearing the conſequences of too great a power in the hands of the people, he deemed it prudent to eſtabliſh ſome kind of counterpoiſe. The fact is, that as he profeſſed republicaniſm in private, Briſſot was a long while before he could believe him guilty, when he was become ſo in the eyes of more violent men. But he had blamed him without reſerve, and publicly declared his rupture with him, before the affair of the *Champ-de-Mars*. Here the reporter piques himſelf ſo little upon accuracy, that he confounds dates; he makes Briſſot come to the Jacobins in *March* 1791, to prepare the buſineſs of the *Champ-de-Mars*, which did not take place till *July*, and which was ſolely occaſioned by the flight and return of the king in the month of June. It is well known beſides, that Briſſot did not go to the Jacobins to excite them to ſign the petition, but merely becauſe he was appointed one of the committee to draw it up. I remember to have heard him relate on the following day, that *Laclos*, who was alſo of the committee, complained of ſuch a violent head-ach that he could not hold the pen, and that he begged of Briſſot to take it; that the ſame Laclos propoſed the inſertion of an article which he mentioned with an air of indifference, but which would have been favourable to d'Orleans; and that he (Briſſot) rejected it with indignation, and ſubſtituted the paſſage recommending a republic, for which that moment was peculiarly proper, and might have been turned to great account. It is alſo well known that the aſſembly having decided in favour of the king, the Jacobins, inſtead of ſending their petition to the *Champ-de-Mars*, ſent

deputies there to ſay, that it was not a proper place for their purpoſe, after the decree. This took place on the Saturday. I ſaw the deputies come to the *Champ-de-Mars* at noon, with not more than two or three hundred perſons, and where Verrieres, the little hump-backed cordelier, and ſome others, were declaiming upon the national altar. It was on the Sunday morning, that two men were hanged, when there were not thirty perſons aſſembled, a fact which I have heard attributed with ſome probability to the contrivance of the Lameths and others, who wanted an opportunity of employing force, and inſpiring terror. Certain it is, that Sunday having brought together a great number of people, who had been attracted by the vague report of a petition, while that of the hanging buſineſs had not as yet got abroad, *Robert* ſet about drawing one up, completed it, and was getting it ſigned, when the military were called out, in conſequence of a denunciation made to the aſſembly, and of the violent letter written by Charles Lameth, the preſident, to the commune of Paris, ſetting forth the neceſſity of repreſſing the horrid diſorders of which two men had been the victims. Thus did the morning murder, committed, as it were, by ſtealth, ſerve as a pretext for ſhooting the people aſſembled in the afternoon. The red flag was hoiſted at the town-hall, terror and impriſonment were the order of the day, and prepared the triumph of the reviſors, who wiſhed to give ſtrength to the party of the court. Surely it will be quite enough to read the *Patriot* * of that time, to judge whether it be poſſible that Briſſot, who denounced the

* Briſſot's Journal.

affair

affair of the Champ-de-Mars, ſupported the people, and attacked the reviſors, could at the ſame time have been their accomplice. This accuſation is abſurd in the extreme! But every thing is ſo from one end to the other of this work of iniquity. I will not enter here into the queſtion of the war, which was the ſignal of the great diviſion that took place among the patriots. Robeſpierre, fiery, jealous, greedy of popularity, and inclined to domineer, both by his nature, and the high opinion he entertained of his own merit, put himſelf at the head of the party that oppoſed the declaration of hoſtilities. It would be worth the trouble to examine the ſpeeches on the ſubject: to me it appeared that the maſs of enlightened perſons were in general for the affirmative, and conſequently of Briſſot's opinion. Certain it is that the court was very repugnant to the meaſure, and that the king was in a manner overruled by his council. He had every thing to gain by delay: the enemy were making their preparations at their eaſe, and our inaction would have delivered us into their hands, a defenceleſs prey. Robeſpierre could not forgive Briſſot this triumph. The ice was broken, and from that moment it became his ſole object to bring forward all the misfortunes that befel us, whether inevitable or not, as crimes againſt the partiſans of the war. The exaggeration of paſſion became by degrees a ſyſtem of refined calumny, artfully contrived, and obſtinately perſevered in. Briſſot could no longer make the eulogium of any man, without its being conſtrued into perfidy, if that man afterwards departed from the line of duty. Briſſot was acquainted with ſeveral perſons in the miniſtry by whom he was eſteemed—here was another reaſon of jealouſy and diſtruſt. Thoſe miniſters, honourably diſ-

graced

raced by the court, were recalled after the fall of the hrone; and Briſſot at that time was one of the few men n the aſſembly poſſeſſed of any talents, or exerciſing ny influence: Briſſot conſequently appeared an im-portant perſonage to Robeſpierre, who determined to uin him, and had full leiſure to effect his purpoſe; for Briſſot, conſtantly confiding in the goodneſs of his inten-ions, could not prevail upon himſelf to go and enter the iſts at the Jacobins with an everlaſting haranguer, who tired him to death. He deſpiſed the adverſary by whom he was overcome. But who could have believed the convention ſo weak, or the people ſo ſtupid? Thoſe only, who not ſuffering themſelves to be hurried along by the current of daily events, recur frequently to the page of hiſtory, meditate upon its contents, and compare the pre-ſent with times paſt. I never ſaw any man in place do ſo ſince the revolution; indeed they have hardly time to breathe, and to anſwer to the calls of each returning day, without an extreme and uncommon economy in the diſtribution of their hours.

The letter of Genſonnè and his aſſociates to Louis XVI. cannot be conſtrued into treaſon, unleſs by the moſt de-termined malevolence. It is true, nobody could at that time be ſure of a ſucceſsful revolution: the wiſeſt men were therefore deſirous that the king ſhould feel the ne-ceſſity of enforcing the conſtitution, and reſolve upon re-calling, and retaining thoſe miniſters who were ſincerely inclined to execute the laws. They had given proofs of their patriotiſm, and the application for their recal was not a ſtep directed by private intereſt, but the expreſſion of the general will. Roland, for his part, knew nothing of the letter until a late period, and probably would

never have heard of it if it had not become public. But let us attend to the charges brought againſt him in theſe articles of impeachment, which will reflect everlaſting diſgrace on the age and nation, that could either applaud them, or even ſuffer them to paſs, without the ſtrongeſt marks of reprobation.

" The very day after the 10th of Auguſt," ſay theſe articles, " Genſonné and his faction poſted up libels re-
" flecting upon thoſe who had contributed to the fall of
" the throne, upon the Jacobins, upon the council-ge-
" neral of the commune, and upon the people of Paris.
" The pens of Louvet, Briſſot, and Champagneux, were
" ſet to work; enormous packets of thoſe libels were
" ſeen at Roland's houſe, and all his ſervants were em-
" ployed in diſperſing them."

I have read this paſſage twice, without being able to conceive how any one could dare to write it. Genſonné never to my knowledge poſted up any thing: Louvet was editor of the *Sentinel*, of which complete collections exiſt: it was of great ſervice to the revolution, and is an everlaſting refutation of theſe aſſertions; for it breathes nothing but liberty, great and wiſe principles, the hatred of tyranny, and the love of equality. Roland has perhaps contributed as much as any body to reconcile men's minds to the revolution; his circular letters exiſt; let them be read; and let any one be pointed out, that is not even excellent. Champagneux never diſpatched any papers but thoſe printed by order of the aſſembly; nor was any alteration ever made in them; the contrary ſuppoſition is as abſurd as it is abominable. In the firſt place, it was impoſſible, for it was not Roland who had them printed, but the authors at

Baudoins,

Baudoins, from whom the miniſter uſed to demand a certain number of copies: ſecondly, it was uſeleſs; for ſuppoſing that he made a ſelection, he was free to ſend off a ſmaller number of thoſe which he deemed the leaſt deſerving of attention: and, laſtly, if there had been the ſmalleſt breach of faith, the perſons intereſted would not have waited a year to make their complaints, and demonſtrate the deceit. What then can be intended by this ridiculous paſſage?—I have divined it; and it is a matter which demands ſome explanation.

In revolutionary movements, the moſt active people are not always the moſt blameleſs: how many beings come forward only that they may appear of ſome conſequence in the world! Their ſervices, however, are not to be deſpiſed; but when once the point in view is gained, it becomes neceſſary to loſe no time in re-eſtabliſhing order to avoid the diſſolution of the ſocial body. The commune formed on the 10th of Auguſt had contributed to the fall of the tyrant: they did well; but ſeveral of its members had been guilty of various exceſſes; a great deal of pillage and robbery had taken place at the *Tuileries* and elſewhere; conſiderable ſums had been given to the commune for the purchaſe of corn; and it was the duty of the miniſter of the home department to demand their accounts, and to tranſmit them to the legiſlative body. Roland then preſſed the commune to give in their accounts; but the commune being little diſpoſed, and ſtill leſs able, to comply, the miniſter, with a view to juſtice, and to avoid ſharing in the blame, made his report to the aſſembly accordingly. If the aſſembly had poſſeſſed ſufficient energy, it would not have waited for ſuch an opportunity, or at leaſt would have

have laid hold of it, to conſtitute a new commune, a political operation equally juſt and neceſſary. But Danton, who made uſe of the commune, was miniſter: he had partiſans in the aſſembly; and contrived to keep his tool. Roland remained then in a difficult ſituation; liable to accuſation if he did not demand theſe accounts, and ſure to be hated if he did. His upright character did not permit him to heſitate; his auſterity perhaps gave ſtill greater ſolemnity to the demand; and when he was required to repreſent the ſtate of Paris to the aſſembly, he gave no quarter to the errors, the follies, and the faults of the commune. They were in great number; and the commune conſequently became his enemy. Thus did he acquire the hatred of that active body, who among the populace had the reputation of being the patriots of the 10th of Auguſt, and the exterminators of tyranny. Add to the commune all thoſe excited by the plunderer, Danton, againſt a colleague whoſe auſterity was a conſtraint upon him, and who had beſides denounced the September maſſacres, another exploit of a part of the commune, Santerre, &c. Add alſo thoſe whom the jealous Robeſpierre ſet againſt Briſſot's connexions, and you will have altogether a very conſiderable number, either of guilty men who felt the neceſſity of getting rid of their watchful denunciator, or of extravagant patriots prepoſſeſſed in favour of the heroes of the 10th of Auguſt, without ſeeing to the bottom of the buſineſs, or of people intereſted in ſupporting them, or of the ignorant whom they impoſed upon, with a few envious popular leaders, well ſkilled in contriving the overthrow of a man in poſſeſſion of the public eſteem. Such was the origin of a party, which was increaſed by all the new-

ew comers to the convention, too little acquainted with Paris, and public affairs, to form a right judgment of things, and by all thoſe whoſe vanity was hurt by the ſuperiority of the diſtinguiſhed members, with whom Roland naturally became intimate, becauſe men of equal capacity are ever fond of one another's company. Had I more time, I could follow this party through all its ramifications, and indicate all its enterpriſes; but this is enough to put others in the way of coming at the truth.

It now appears clearly, that the party at preſent predominant, of which Amar is the organ, beſtows the appellation of *libel* upon thoſe writings in which Roland exhibited the ſtate of Paris, called for the accounts of the commune, held up the maſſacres of September to public indignation, and recommended the eſtabliſhment of order by way of reconciling all hearts to the revolution; which is ſomewhat more difficult than killing people, according to the practice of theſe gentlemen. They do not point out theſe pretended libels, for that would be burning their fingers; but they ſpeak of libels in general, and the public believing there muſt needs be ſome foundation for a charge ſo boldly brought forward, applaud the declamation, and think themſelves avenged when their own champions are put to death.

The underſtanding kept up with the Pruſſians is a piece of extravagance which one knows not how to characterize, and Brunſwick muſt ſurely laugh at ſeeing people accuſed of being his friends who attacked him with ſo much vigour. It will ſuffice to read the letter in which it is pretended that Roland confeſſes the exiſtence of a plan for quitting Paris, to form a judgment of the matter, eſpecially as to the intention of opening a paſ-

a paſſage for Brunſwick. I know, that on the ſuppoſition of the Pruſſians approaching very near Paris, the queſtion, what would be proper to do, or whether it would be expedient to ſend away from that town the national repreſentation, in which the whole empire was intereſted, was once debated; but the diſcuſſion was ſlight, and hypothetical, more ſo indeed than it ought to have been; nor did any one of the miniſters threaten his colleagues. It was Danton, who, after the event, thought of bringing forward the denunciation, by way of making a merit of it to himſelf, and of injuring Roland. I recollect thoſe matters perfectly, having heard my huſband mention them on the breaking up of the council, which was then held at his hotel. As to the great movement of the people of Paris, it is well known that it ſerved as a veil for the maſſacres of the month of September, and that it was Kellerman's action on the 20th of that month that ſaved the republic.

It is not leſs ridiculous to hear the government of that time accuſed of ſtarving the people. Never during Roland's adminiſtration were proviſions ſo ſcarce, and difficult to procure, as they are become ſince: his anxiety on that head was extreme, and any one may recur to what he ſays of the bad adminiſtration peculiar in that reſpect to the commune of Paris.

It is an infamous and abſurd calumny to aſſert that Roland employed the ſums given him to purchaſe proviſions, in the pay of hireling writers. In the firſt place, thoſe ſums never paſſed through his hands, nor could he diſpoſe of them otherwiſe than by orders upon the treaſury indicating the purpoſes for which they were wanted. Secondly, he gave an account of thoſe monies; he did ſo

to every month, and repeated it on his going out of office, the whole accompanied by ſufficient vouchers. Of theſe accounts he never ceaſed to call for a report; and they were accordingly examined; but as no fault could be found with them, the Mountain would never ſuffer a report to be made. Thoſe who doubt it need only aſk *Dupin*, a deputy and one of the commiſſioners charged with their examination; they need only aſk *Saint-Aubin*, a commiſſioner of accounts, by whom the commiſſioners of the Convention were aſſiſted in their labours, which laſted two months, and in which they proceeded with great rigour and a deſire of finding fault, but without ſucceſs. In the third place, no more than one hundred thouſand livres (£4167) were given to Roland to pay for compoſitions and printing, out of which in ſix months he only ſpent thirty-four thouſand (£1417), of which he likewiſe gave an account: the reſt remained in the public treaſury, as appears by the ſtatement of what had been diſburſed.

It requires a degree of malignity ſcarcely credible to advance ſuch ſcandalous falſehood! Roland never eſtabliſhed any new offices in his department; he only aſſigned to particular clerks the care of forwarding the papers he was charged to ſend off; nor did he ever give to any thing the name of *formation of public ſpirit:* his enemies began by inventing the chimera, and afterwards baptized it as they thought proper. As to me, I never interfered, much leſs did I direct any thing: I defy the proof of it. Roland had nothing to do with his colleagues in the department of finances; nor did his colleagues ever interfere in forwarding papers. It is impoſſible to mention a ſingle paper diſpatched by Roland himſelf,

which did not tend to attach the people to the 10th of Auguſt, inſtead of inducing them to caſt an odium on the events of that day. Roland had no command over the adminiſtration of the poſt-office to get any thing intercepted; nor, if he had, would the adminiſtrators ever have been able, without courting their own ruin, to engage in ſo odious a manœuvre. If they had only attempted it, how ſeverely would they have been puniſhed; they, who have been ſo much perſecuted, and whoſe places have been taken from them, though their perſons have not been touched?

It is falſe that Roland ever ſuppreſſed any thing which he was directed to forward: I have ſeen him ſend off the ſpeeches of Marat. It is equally falſe that any thing was or could be mutilated, as I have ſaid before: I have ſhewn that it was no leſs impoſſible than improbable, that the denunciation would not have been delayed till this time, if only a ſingle inſtance of the kind had occurred; and that even now, when they have the impudence to advance it, they neither can nor dare cite a fact. But what an excellent precaution was that of accuſing Roland and the Moniteur of making the mountaineers *appear like madmen* in the eyes of the whole republic, by the miſplacing of a word! Not being able to annihilate hiſtory, they wiſh to bring its materials into diſcredit! O my God! if nothing were to remain but their calumnies and their conduct, the atrocity of their falſehoods would nevertheleſs appear. For a few years truth may be reduced to ſilence; but it cannot be extinguiſhed: the very efforts made to annihilate it operate a contrary way, and ſerve to give evidence of its exiſtence.

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The diſcovery of the iron door is alſo brought forward againſt Roland as a crime; and nothing is more eaſy by way of accounting for the want of proof againſt the pretended Briſſotine faction, than to ſuppoſe that he ſuppreſſed a part of its contents. But Roland had witneſſes, and Roland did not contradict himſelf. A lockſmith of the name of *Gamin*, living at Verſailles, gave information of his having been employed by Louis XVI. to make a little hiding-place in his apartment at the Tuileries; but did not know what it might contain. Roland was charged with the inſpection of the Tuileries: the palace and every thing belonging to it were intruſted to his care. Taking with him *Gamin*, and *Heurtier* a reſpectable architect, he repaired to the king's apartment, where, in a paſſage between two doors, Gamin lifted up a pannel of wainſcot, and diſcovered a little iron door, which Roland ordered him to open. It ſerved to cloſe a hole in the wall in which ſeveral packets of papers were found. Roland called a ſervant, ordered a napkin to be brought, took out the packets, without untying them, caſt his eyes upon the indorſements, which announced a correſpondence with the generals and ſeveral other perſons, put them in the napkin in the preſence of Heurtier and Gamin, gave the parcel to his ſervant, and repaired to the convention, where he depoſited them in a formal manner. As he was paſſing through the apartments he met a member, who aſked him what he had there.—'Things of conſequence,' anſwered he, 'which I am going to carry to the convention.'—It remains to be ſaid, that when the miniſter of the interior was made reſponſible for the palace, and every thing it contained, the convention appointed

a committee of ſome of its members to examine all the papers printed or in manuſcript, which were there at the time of the aſſault, and which had been collected together. The members of the committee were angry that the miniſter had not ſent for them to be preſent at the diſcovery. But Roland thought nothing could be more natural, upon Gamin's information, than to repair to the place; and, upon finding the papers, to ſubmit them to the inſpection of the convention. He conducted himſelf like a man whoſe conſcious rectitude renders him incapable of diſtruſt; though certainly very unlike an artful man of the world, who foreſees all poſſible events, and takes care not to hurt the vanity of others. Roland was guilty of no real fault on this occaſion; but he diſcovered great want of prudence and caution. Add to this, that among the members of the commiſſion at the palace was one *Calon*, a perſon whom Roland deſpiſed, and with whom he ſometimes had diſputes, becauſe the commiſſioners wiſhed to exceed their powers, and to turn every thing topzy-turvy at the palace when they pleaſed, while Roland, naturally rigid, and deriving a right to reſiſt from his reſponſibility, frequently oppoſed their proceedings. To give a good idea of this Calon, it will ſuffice to ſay, it was a matter of public notoriety, that he had ſet up a coffee-houſe and tavern cloſe to the aſſembly, in partnerſhip with a woman whom he kept.

It is now eaſy to ſee the origin of all the outcry about the iron cabinet, and to conceive how eagerly Roland's different enemies availed themſelves of appearances to throw ſuſpicion on his conduct, and how many little paſſions concurred in raiſing doubts concerning that circumſtance.

cumſtance. Of what value is it ſince become to thoſe, who, wiſhing to accuſe Roland's friends in the convention of a conſpiracy, find it ſo convenient to make the world believe that the cabinet contained papers which the miniſter concealed! But recollect dates, calculate facts, and by attending particularly to the one in queſtion, you will ſee, if Roland had meant to convey any thing away, he would firſt have repaired in ſecret to the place, after which he would have called witneſſes, and obſerved every neceſſary form in the diſcovery. His rapid and incautious way of proceeding, by expoſing him to blame, muſt prove his innocence to every reflecting mind. *Heurtier* exiſts; he is a man advanced in years, and generally eſteemed; and *Gamin* exiſts alſo: they took minutes of all that paſſed, which will not be loſt to hiſtory any more than theſe details. I ſhall make no remark on the charge in which Roland is accuſed of favouring the partiſans of ariſtocracy, and of receiving the emigrants with open arms. Roland in his adminiſtration was juſt, impartial, and ſevere: he received nothing but the law with open arms: it was the object of all his attention, and the guide of all his deciſions. It muſt no doubt appear as ſtrange to ariſtocracy to be put under the protection of ſuch a patron, as it muſt to Brunſwick to hear himſelf ſtyled Roland's friend: but theſe are follies which will not long prevail. True it is that the republic once eſtabliſhed, Roland wiſhed to attach its very enemies to it by an equitable form of government: he wiſhed for good laws inſtead of blood. Thoſe principles inſpired with a kind of confidence the perſons who, without being fanatics in the cauſe of royalty, were however far from being

republicans. They felt their prejudices give way, and acknowledged that the miniſter of the Interior, although a patriot, appeared to be an honeſt man. The jealous noted down theſe confeſſions, that they might repreſent Roland as a partiſan of ariſtocracy; a title by which they have ſince diſtinguiſhed every friend of reaſon and humanity.

I ſhould be glad to know how Roland, who, under the old government, had ſtood in the way of his own promotion by ſupporting the liberty of commerce, on which ſubject his opinions were conſidered as crimes; who had profeſſed his principles in works publiſhed from fifteen to twenty years before; who, faithful to thoſe principles at the time of the revolution, had taken ſuch a decided part in its favour as to attract the enmity of all the ariſtocracy of Lyons; who, elevated to the miniſtry, had there conducted himſelf with the greateſt firmneſs and energy; who had dared to write a letter to the king, which the partiſans of the throne have not yet forgiven him; who, recalled to the adminiſtration of public affairs by the inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt, was intereſted in defending it both by his intereſt and his glory; how, I ſay, could Roland ſeek to decry it; to favour the royaliſts who hated him, or would have looked upon him with eyes of diſtruſt; and to reſtore ariſtocracy, of which he had drawn upon himſelf the hatred, and which at this very moment is rejoicing at the perſecution he undergoes? What could he have in view? He had reached the higheſt elevation then attainable, and enjoyed great conſideration: both ambition and ſelf-intereſt could ſeek for nothing more than to remain in place; and if he had liſtened to them he would have

have ſoothed men's paſſions, flattered the different parties, and have been upon his guard againſt giving offence. The care of not making enemies is the ſtrongeſt characteriſtic of the ambitious man, already arrived at eminence in a republic; while Roland, on the contrary, rigorouſly denounced the abuſes he could not repreſs, never flattered any man, nor ever gave way to the violence or to the prejudices of the times. This is the conduct of a ſincere and courageous man, and not that of a hypocrite.—Let us now return to the members of the Convention, to whom the ſame reaſoning will apply.

The electoral body of Paris was evidently at the command of Robeſpierre and Danton: its nominations were entirely their work. It is notorious that Robeſpierre made an harangue againſt Prieſtley, and in favour of Marat: it is notorious that he brought forward his brother: it is equally known that Danton, laying aſide his miniſterial functions, repaired to the huſtings to exerciſe his ſway; nor is it forgotten, that theſe leaders of the electors were the means of getting d'Orleans returned. (Here I aſk, by the way, Why he was not waited for at the trial of the deputies with whom he was confounded in the articles of impeachment, and to whom he was aſſigned as an accomplice?) Among the Pariſian delegates to the Convention were ſeen the members of the famous Committee of Vigilance *(ſurveillance)*, that directed the maſſacres of September, and adviſed the departments to imitate ſo good an example, in a circular letter, which is well known, and which Danton forwarded under his own cover. There were alſo ſeen men accuſed of robberies, whom the council-general,

compoſed in part of new members, has ſince thought it indiſpenſable to denounce, although ſitting in the Convention, where they ſtill remain on the ſummit of the Mountain (Sergent and Panis). The *conſtituents*, repairing to the Convention, and acquainted with Paris, the revolution, and all the men of any note, were uneaſy at this Pariſian deputation, indignant at the events of the 2d of September, diſpoſed to diſtruſt the former, and to puniſh the authors of the latter. That diſpoſition would not have eſcaped the perſons intereſted, even if the *conſtituents* had endeavoured to conceal it, which they did not. But the Convention opened before it was complete, and the Pariſian members formed a party, which was reinforced by all the ignorant and weak, as faſt as they arrived: it had collected a conſiderable number by the time the whole Convention had aſſembled, and all the *conſtituents* were arrived. I need not ſay, that I give this appellation to the members who had belonged to the aſſembly of 1789, and who, for the moſt part, ſeated themſelves on what was called the right ſide of the Convention.

The agitation of Paris, the conduct of the commune, the weakneſs of the department *, the high tone of its deputies, and the tyranny of the galleries, ſuggeſted the idea of a departmental guard, as the firſt ſtep to inſure the liberty of the national repreſentation, to remind the Pariſians that they were not its maſters, and to prevent the departments from forgetting the neceſſity of maintaining an equilibrium for the common advantage. In Buzot's

* Department means here the directory of the department of Paris, which made ſome feeble attempts to check the preſumption of the Commune. *Tranſ.*

report

eport on the ſubject may be ſeen the principal reaſons in avour of the propoſition. It was a gauntlet thrown own as the ſignal for combat. The Pariſian members elt they were in danger of loſing their aſcendance, nd as ſome of the number were criminals, who could nly be ſaved by maintaining it, every effort was made to arry ſo fatal a blow. From that moment it became a war of extermination, and as ſuch they carried it on; but their adverſaries were not ſufficiently aware of the danger; they were not ready to coaleſce, becauſe they did not imagine that truth ſtood in need of a party; they neglected the Jacobin club, becauſe the Jacobins gave them a bad reception; and they did not intrigue, becauſe they had neither money nor cunning for the purpoſe. About forty of them uſed indeed to meet and converſe at Valazé's, whence there proceeded much courage to ſupport principles, and brave clamour, and much devotion to the public good; but never any meaſures, unleſs in the ſhape of motions, which were imputed to them as crimes. They wiſhed to work on the conſtitution in the beſt way they might be able, ſince it was in vain to hope by further ſkirmiſhing to get poſſeſſion of higher ground. The leaders of the Pariſian deputation were deſirous, on the contrary, to entangle the Convention in a trial, that they might keep up the heat of the public mind; make a merit of the death of a man already tumbled from the throne, and incapable of doing miſchief; and retard a conſtitution, of which the completion would have reſtored order, and ſet bounds to their power. But, it may be ſaid, theſe are the men who have made one ſince the 2d of June—Yes, and theſe are the men who prevented it before, as the journals of the time will ſhew; and the

proof

proof that they care no more about it at preſent is, that after having got it accepted, they have ſuſpended its execution, by declaring that France remains in a ſtate of revolution; ſo that the departments, which were only induced to accept it by laſſitude, enjoy no greater repoſe than before. Never, indeed, did they ſuffer ſo much agitation and miſery of every kind. It is eaſy for any man who has attended the ſittings of the Convention, to ſay whence all the ſcandalous ſcenes proceeded. When the members of the right ſide reaſoned, they were accuſed: if they attempted to defend themſelves they were called to order, loaded with abuſe by the galleries, and even ſpit upon: if, indignant at this treatment, they appealed to their conſtituents, they were called conſpirators, and clubs and piſtols were held up in their faces; and yet, now they are on their trial, it is ſaid they governed. What have they done at their own pleaſure?—Nothing whatever: they could not then be either in poſſeſſion of power, or leading men in the Convention. Their ſpeeches in the king's affair ſufficiently prove their good ſenſe, and their deſire of eſtabliſhing a republic by wiſdom rather than blood. I ſhall not enter into an examination of thoſe ſpeeches: it is neceſſary to read them to form a judgment of their merit. All theſe things will no doubt be appreciated by poſterity without partiality: it will ſee, that forgetting themſelves, they calculated for its advantage; it will honour their memory, and ſtrew flowers upon their graves; a vain and tardy homage, which cannot reſtore life to thoſe who have loſt it; but of which the hope affords conſolation to thoſe who devote themſelves to deſtruction for the good of their country.

The

The murder of le Pelletier is ſtill a kind of myſtery; but I ſhall never forget two facts, which I will mention here: the firſt is, that all the members, at preſent proſcribed, were afflicted beyond meaſure at that event. I ſaw Buzot and Louvet ſhed tears of rage, perſuaded that ſome bold mountaineer had done the deed with a view of aſcribing it to the members of the right ſide, and of exciting againſt them the revolutionary fanaticiſm of the people. The ſecond is, that Gorſas, expreſſing this opinion in tolerably clear terms, added, that either the aſſaſſin would never be diſcovered at all, or that he would be found dead. It is certain that a Pariſian Mountaineer, diſpatched with another perſon in purſuit of Paris, did not overtake him till he came to an inn in Normandy, where they ſaid that he had blown out his brains. It is certain alſo, that the Mountain made a kind of ſaint of le Pelletier, who certainly little expected ſuch an honour. A man of a weak mind, and great opulence, he had gone over to them through fear, like Heraut-de-Sechelles, and other *ci-devant* nobles of the ſame character; and was only of uſe to them by the manner of his death. Its effect was ſuch as the right ſide had foreſeen; and this is an additional reaſon for being ſatisfied that the fugitives are not the authors of that of Marat, even if it were not abſurd to ſuppoſe, that courage like Charlotte Corday's could be aſſumed at any man's bidding. Beſides, conſidering the circumſtances of the times, and their intention of coming to Paris, their having any ſhare in the immolation of Marat would have been a moſt dangerous act of folly. To this we may add, that men, abhorrent of blood, endeavouring to repreſs murder, pillage, and all other exceſſes, and bold enough

enough to defy their adverſaries to their faces, are not likely to have recourſe to ſuch means; while they are natural enough to Danton, who drew up the liſts of the maſſacres of September at his own houſe, and diſperſed the eulogium of them under his own covers, as well as to his coadjutors, the members of the Committee of Vigilance, who were the directors of that bloody buſineſs.

It is neceſſary to ſtudy the ſittings of the Jacobins in all theſe conjunctures, to ſee how the 10th of March was prepared, and to be acquainted with that day's conſpiracy, which firſt miſcarried, and was afterwards reſumed, to be able to ſet a juſt value on the audacious charges which attribute our misfortunes to the wiſe ſtateſmen about to be ſacrificed.

It is truly curious to ſee how Amar, the reporter, confounds dates, facts, and perſonages. He makes the war of la Vendee the work of *the right ſide*, of the pretended faction in which he includes Roland.--Now the troubles in la Vendée did not begin till two months after he had gone out of office; and certainly at that period the Briſſotines were not the leaders of the Convention: it cannot then be their fault if efficacious meaſures were not taken to appeaſe thoſe diſturbances. I will go further: I will venture to affirm, that with Roland's activity, and his vigilant correſpondence, the troubles in la Vendée would never have had time to get to any head: it was Garat's want of energy that encouraged their growth. I know from his firſt clerk, that in the beginning of the civil war, that weak miniſter was ſtrangely tardy in his proceedings. Champagneux pointed out to him the rapid means proper

to

to be employed; but Garat, always uncertain how to act, adopted no plan, and ſuffered a ſpark to kindle a conflagration.

Amar pretends that the fugitives, after their proſcription, attempted to aſſemble in la Vendée. What was there then to prevent them, if ſo inclined? They would now be in ſafety, inſtead of wandering as forlorn adventurers. They are every moment in danger of loſing their lives, which they might inſure by going over to the Engliſh, whoſe agents they are ſaid to have been.—What is it then that hinders them?

Abominable calumniators, to be compared with the madmen who condemned Socrates, with the jealous wretches who ruined Phocion, with the intriguers who baniſhed Ariſtides, and with the villains who murdered Dion, you ſay to the people: Here is liberty, and you violate it in the perſons of their repreſentatives; you pretend to give them a conſtitution, and you will not permit them to enjoy it; you proſcribe, impriſon, or bring to trial, two hundred members of the convention; and you ſay that they over-awed you, that they were a faction: what then are you? You who deſpiſe all rights, who ſet yourſelves above all authority, who abuſe every ſpecies of power, who govern by the ſword, who preach up nothing but terror, and who have impoſed upon groaning France the moſt execrable tyranny!—What did theſe men, whom you accuſe of ſo many crimes, without proving any, get in the honourable ſtruggle they ſuſtained with intrepidity againſt villany and blind deluſion, in the midſt of mortifications without number, and of dangers which they were aware of, which they predicted, which you collected over their heads,

heads, and with which you have overwhelmed them?—*They made a trade of their opinions concerning the colonies.*—The rich planters hated them: they did not pay them then; or, if they did, where are their bills? Were not they the perſons who obtained a decree to oblige every member to furniſh an account of his fortune, and to aſſign the reaſons of its increaſe ſince the revolution? You did not enforce its execution, and you have ſince pretended not to remember it, by lately paſſing another of the ſame purport, and of which the effect will be the ſame. You bring Perrin to trial: why then do you keep Sergent among you, and why do you not make Danton regorge his ill-gotten wealth? The day perhaps will come; for it is natural that you ſhould deſtroy one another at laſt, and for that purpoſe make uſe of your own hands. But how happens it that the wives of the *rich members* you have proſcribed are ſo pinched by poverty?

Guadet's wife, ſuckling a child born in theſe diſaſtrous times, guarded ſince her huſband's departure by a *gendarme*, who makes a mockery of her tears, and watched by a barbarous porter, the preſident of the ſection, who will not ſuffer a parcel to be carried out, only ſubſiſts upon the produce of a few effects; watches, ſilver ſpoons, and linen, which ſhe diſpoſes of by ſtealth. The wife of Genſonné, dying of grief and of diſeaſe, depends upon the ſecret aſſiſtance of a few friends to provide for the ſupport of two charming children. Briſſot's wife, confined at firſt in ready furniſhed lodgings, becauſe her door was ſealed up, was afterwards dragged to the *Force*; where ſhe would be ſtill, as ſhe has been for five days, upon bread and water, and be lying upon ſtraw, if a friendly hand had not afforded her ſome relief. The

wives

wives of Petion and Roland, fellow priſoners at Sainte Pelagie, are obliged to borrow, to pay the trifling ſums to which they limit their expences. And you, *Chabot*, where did you get the money, that you call the fortune of your bride? And you —— but recrimination, however juſt, is unworthy of the cauſe of thoſe celebrated men, who are now kept ſtanding, by tyranny, at the bar of a ſanguinary tribunal, the compoſition of which would make us laugh, if it did not tranſport us with horror. And theſe men, not yet under ſentence, are crowded into a ſingle room of the priſon, to the number of twenty-nine, with one bed for every five! O France! you ſuffer this treatment to be inflicted on, I will not ſay your children, but your fathers in liberty, and your champions, and yet you talk of a republic!

I have not courage to dwell on the particulars of theſe abominable charges, after the public reading of which an advocate for the priſoners was heard to obſerve, that not one of the written documents on which they were founded had been communicated to him, as the law directs. On his requeſt that the tribunal would take the matter into conſideration, the preſident whiſpered for a moment to ſomebody on his right, and then anſwered in a faltering voice, that the immenſe number of theſe papers rendered their communication difficult; that beſides a great many of them were ſealed up at the houſes of the accuſed; that they ſhould be ſent for, but that the trial in the mean time muſt go on. —Thus did they draw up the charges upon the ſtrength of papers that had never been ſeen, and which are ſuppoſed to be at the houſes of the accuſed; and thus do they proceed to judgment without communicating thoſe

they pretend to have in their poſſeſſion, under the pretence of their being too numerous—and this is not an impoſture!—Good heavens!—Never could I have believed theſe things if I had not been preſent. Called upon to attend at the trial as a witneſs, I was one of the auditory at the opening of the buſineſs: I imagined it was their intention to take advantage of the truth I might have the courage to tell, to effect my ruin.—After the reading of the charges I withdrew, and waited for my turn to be called: it did not come; and I was carried back to my priſon: this is the third day, and nobody has been ſent for me. I paſſed the hours of expectation on the firſt in the office of the clerk of the court, where I ſpoke with energy and freedom to all who happened to be there. Have they conſidered this energy and freedom might have an effect upon the audience; that it is better to avoid it; to diſpatch the deputies firſt; and then to ſend for me on my own account, without making me an intereſting acceſſory at the trial of others?—I am afraid ſo.—I am deſirous of deſerving death, by bearing witneſs in their favour while they are alive, and I dread loſing the opportunity. I am upon thorns; I wait for the meſſenger as a ſoul in pain waits for its deliverer; and have only written the above obſervations to beguile my impatience.

October 25.

MY

MY LAST THOUGHTS.

To be, or not to be, that is the queſtion.
It will ſoon be reſolved in regard to me.

Is life a property which belongs to us? I think it is; but that property is given us upon conditions in regard to which alone we are liable to error.

We are born to ſeek happineſs for ourſelves and to contribute to that of others: the ſocial ſtate extends this deſtination, as well as all our other faculties, without creating any thing new.

As long as we have a field before us in which we can practiſe virtue, and give a great example, it becomes us not to quit it; for courage conſiſts in continuing our career in ſpite of misfortune. But if malevolence mark out the limits of that career, we are free to ſtop ſhort of them, eſpecially when the fortitude with which we might undergo the laſt efforts of its rage can be conducive to no advantage. When I was put in confinement, I flattered myſelf that I ſhould contribute to my huſband's glory, and help to enlighten the public, if brought to trial. But it was then I ſhould have been tried, and our perſecutors were too dexterous to take ſo bad a time. They were circumſpect as long as they had any thing to fear from thoſe, who, having fled from their violence, inſpired the departments with zeal in their defence. But now that terror holds its iron ſceptre over a ſubjugated world, inſolent guilt no longer delays its triumph; it deludes, it oppreſſes, and the gaping multitude wonders at its power. An immenſe city, fed upon blood and falſehood, furiouſly

applauds abominable proſcriptions, on which it ſtupidly imagines its ſalvation to depend.

Two months ago, I aſpired to the honour of aſcending the ſcaffold; the victim was then allowed to ſpeak, and the energy of a courageous mind might have been ſerviceable to the cauſe of truth. Now all is loſt!—This generation, rendered ferocious by infamous preachers of carnage, looks upon the friends of mankind as conſpirators, and conſiders as its champions thoſe abject wretches who cover their vile paſſions and their cowardice with the maſk of frantic enthuſiaſm. To live in the midſt of it, is baſely to ſubmit to its horrible government, and to give room for the commiſſion of new atrocities.

I know that the reign of the wicked cannot be of long duration: they generally ſurvive their power, and almoſt always undergo the puniſhment they deſerve.

Unknown and overlooked, I might in ſolitude and ſilence have withdrawn myſelf from the horrors which rend the boſom of my country, and have waited in the practice of domeſtic virtues, for the period of its misfortunes. But a priſoner, and marked out as a victim, I ſhall only, by prolonging my exiſtence, afford a new gratification to tyranny.

Let us deceive it then, ſince it is not to be overthrown.

Forgive me, reſpectable man, for diſpoſing of a life which I had devoted to you: your misfortunes would have attached me to it, if I had been permitted to alleviate them. But I am robbed for ever of the power of doing ſo, and you loſe nothing but a ſhadow, an uſeleſs object of affliction and inquietude.

Forgive me, my dear child, young and tender girl, whoſe

hoſe ſweet image is impreſſed on my maternal heart, nd ſtaggers my reſolution. Oh! certainly, I would not ave deprived you of your guide, if it had been poſſible at they would have let her remain with you: the cruel retches! have they any pity upon innocence!—But do hat they will, they cannot rob you of my example; nd I feel, and I will venture to ſay, upon the very brink f the grave, that it is a rich inheritance.

All you, whom heaven in its bounty gave me for riends, direct your attentions towards my orphan. A oung plant violently torn from her native ſoil, ſhe would ave withered perhaps, or have been bruiſed by the hand f the ſpoiler; but you placed her in a kindly ſhelter, nd beneath a reviving ſhade: there may ſhe flouriſh, nd may her beauty and her virtues repay your care! —Do not grieve at a reſolution which puts an end to my ſufferings: I can bear adverſity: you know me, and you will not believe that weakneſs or fear have prompted my deciſion. If any one could aſſure me that before the tribunal at which ſo many juſt men are arraigned, I ſhould be allowed to point out our oppreſſors, I would appear there with pleaſure; but experience has too well ſhewn that the vain formality of judgment is only an inſulting parade in which they take care to refuſe the victim the privilege of ſpeech *. Shall I then wait till it pleaſe my executioners to indicate the hour of my death, and to enhance their triumph by the inſolent clamours to which I ſhall be expoſed. Moſt certainly I ſhould be able to brave them, if my fortitude could inſtruct

* Look at Gorſas; he is condemned; he is about to die; he is in their hands; they forbade him to ſpeak: ſuch is the fate of the courageous apoſtles of liberty!

the ſtupid populace; but they are no longer capable of feeling any thing, except the ſavage delight of ſeeing the blood of others ſpilt, while they run no riſk of ſhedding their own.

The time foretold is come, when their cries for bread are appeaſed with dead bodies: their degraded nature is regaled by the ſpectacle, and the gratification of this brutal appetite will render the ſcarcity of bread ſupportable, until it ſhall exceed the ſufferance of nature.

Perhaps, ſome one may ſay, theſe dominators of the preſent day, who ſacrifice every thing to their fears, may not extend their fury ſo far as you.—Why, do you not ſee that they have purpoſely provided the means of doing ſo by compriſing me in the abſurd indictment againſt the republicans whom they deteſt?

Shall I then hold my exiſtence ſubject to their pleaſure, until the fancy ſhall take them, of firſt bringing me forward in my turn upon the ſtage, and then commanding the *exit* of ſo formidable a witneſs of their villainy?—Yes, formidable, for long ago my eyes read the ſecret of their hearts; my ſoul abhorred them; and my courage ſet them at defiance: they know it: they muſt then be determined on my ruin.

But the chances of a new revolution; the approach of the foreign armies!—What ſignifies it to my ſafety?—I ſhould like as little to owe it to the Auſtrians, as to receive death from the French at preſent in power. They are alike the enemies of my country, and I deſire nothing from any of them but their honourable hatred.

Oh! if thoſe puſillanimous beings, thoſe men unworthy of the name, whoſe weakneſs aſſumed the diſguiſe of prudence, and ruined the eſtimable *twenty-two*,

if

they had poſſeſſed my courage, they would have re-
eemed the firſt faults of their conduct; they would
ave provoked on the ſecond of June, by a formal op-
oſition, the impriſonment to which they have juſt been
onſigned. Their reſiſtance would then have enlight-
ned the uncertain and timid departments; it would have
aved the republic; and if they had been doomed to pe-
iſh, it would have been with as much glory to themſelves,
s utility to their country.

The cowards, they entered into a compromiſe with
guilt!—It was decreed that they ſhould fall in their turn;
but they fall inglorioufly, unpitied by any, and with
nothing to hope for from poſterity, but its perfect con-
tempt. Why, in this laſt conjuncture, rather than obey
their tyrants, deſcend to their bar, walk out of the aſſem-
bly like a timid flock marked for ſlaughter by the but-
cher, and ſubmit to be taken into cuſtody—why did they
not do themſelves juſtice by falling upon the monſters,
and expunging them from the face of the earth?

Divinity, ſupreme being, ſoul of the univerſe, prin-
ciple of every thing great, good, and happy, thou in
whoſe exiſtence I believe, becauſe I muſt needs emanate
from ſomething better than what I ſee around me, I
am about to be reunited to thine eſſence!—I invoke the
kindneſs of all thoſe to whom I was dear in favour of that
good ſervant, whoſe uncommon fidelity made her a pat-
tern in her way. The excellent woman! How many
tears has her attachment for me made her ſhed during
the laſt thirteen years. How many ſecret ſorrows has
ſhe ſhared in ſilence, which but for her affectionate at-
tentions I ſhould not have known that ſhe perceived!
What activity in my afflictions! What devotion in my

misfortunes!—If the chimæras of the metempſychoſis had any reality, and if our wiſhes could have any influence upon the changes we ſhould then undergo, I ſhould be glad to return to the world in another ſhape, that I might take care of her in my turn, and adminiſter comfort to the old age of ſo kind and worthy a creature! O my friends! diſcharge the debt I owe her; it is the moſt grateful tribute you can pay to my memory.

As to my property, I find in the reſolution I have taken, the advantage of ſecuring it to whom it belongs: it will deſcend to my daughter, who, even if they ſhould ſeize upon her father's fortune, would have a right to claim every thing of mine on which the State has put its ſeals: ſhe can claim beſides twelve thouſand livres (500*l.*) which were my portion, as will appear by the marriage contract, executed in February 1780, at Durand's, a notary, reſident at Paris, in the *Place Dauphine*. Moreover an eſtate, a little wood and a meadow, bought by me, in purſuance of the power given me by the *written law** according to which I was married, from monies ariſing from ſundry ſums that came to me in my own right, by inheritance or reimburſement, as will appear by the contract executed at Dufreſne's, notary, *Rue Vivienne*, in 1791, and by a deed of which duplicates exiſt in my apartment at Théſée, and at Villefranche; the whole amounting to thirteen or fourteen thouſand livres. [From £540 to £580.]

* The written law *(le droit écrit)* is the old Roman law, which was retained in ſeveral parts of France till the fall of the ancient deſpotic ſyſtem. It was ſo called in contradiſtinction to the traditionary cuſtoms, or common law, which prevailed in other places. Hence the provinces of France were divided into *Pays de droit écrit* and *Pays Coutumier*.—Tranſ.

I have

I have beſides a thouſand crowns in paper, which ſhall be pointed out. I deſire that enough may be taken out of that ſum to buy my daughter the harp on which ſhe plays, and which I hired from Koliker, a muſical inſtrument-maker, *rue des Foſſés-Saint-Germain-des Prés:* he is an honeſt and fair-dealing man, and will perhaps abate ſomething of the hundred crowns (£12. 10*s.*) he aſked for it. At any rate I ſhould rather chooſe it to be laid out in that way than kept in paper. Virtues are the firſt of treaſures: but they are employed to better advantage by the help of talents. No body can tell the relief that muſic affords in ſolitude and misfortune, nor from how many ſeductions it may be a preſervative in proſperity. Let the teacher of the harp be kept a few months longer: by that time, if circumſtances will not admit of further expence, the dear little girl, by making good uſe of her time, will know enough for her own amuſement. Among the things ſealed up is an excellent forte-piano, bought out of my ſavings, and for which the receipt was conſequently made out in my own name, as will appear by examining the papers: let it by all means be claimed. As to drawing, that is the eſſential article to which her application, care, and attention, ought to be directed.

I have found means to get a letter written to her uncle and godfather, and I hope if he be at liberty, that he will take the neceſſary ſteps to ſecure for my child all that belongs to her. In that caſe, not being left deſtitute herſelf, ſhe ought to provide for our maid Fleury; and this is what I beg thoſe who may watch over her conduct to prevail upon her to do.

My venerable relations, the Beſnards, *rue et île St. Louis*, lodged ſome money in my huſband's hands, of which we uſed to pay them the intereſt. As they may be ignorant of the forms to be obſerved in eſtabliſhing their claim, the neceſſary information ſhould be given to thoſe reſpectable old people. They ſhould now and then alſo ſee their great-great niece, who ſtands them in the ſtead of a child, and who will ſoon be their only hope.

I never had any jewels; but I poſſeſs two rings of very moderate value, which were left me by my father; I intend them, as memorials, the emerald for my daughter's adoptive father, the other for my friend Boſc.

I have nothing to add to what I lately expreſſed to the generous woman who has the goodneſs to be a mother to my child: the ſervices which ſhe and her huſband render me, inſpire a ſentiment which I ſhall carry with me to the grave, and which words cannot expreſs.

May my laſt letter to my daughter fix her attention upon that object which appears likely to become her particular purſuit; and may the remembrance of her mother attach her for ever to thoſe virtues which afford us conſolation in every circumſtance of diſtreſs.

Farewell, my dear child, my worthy huſband, my faithful ſervant, and my good friends; farewell, thou ſun, whoſe reſplendent beams uſed to ſhed ſerenity over my ſoul while they recalled it to the ſkies: farewell, ye ſolitary fields which I have ſo often contemplated with emotion; and you, ye ruſtic inhabitants of Thezée, who were wont to bleſs my preſence, whom I attended in ſickneſs, whoſe labours I alleviated, and whoſe indi-

gence

ence I relieved, farewell; farewell peaceful retirements, here I enriched my mind with moral truths, and learned n the ſilence of meditation to govern my paſſions, and o deſpiſe the vanity of the world.

TO MY DAUGHTER.

October 18, 1793.

I do not know, my dear girl, whether I ſhall be allowed to ſee, or to write to you again. REMEMBER YOUR MOTHER. In theſe few words is contained the beſt advice I can give you. You have ſeen me happy in fulfilling my duties, and in giving aſſiſtance to thoſe who were in diſtreſs.—It is the only way of being happy.

You have ſeen me tranquil in misfortune and in confinement, becauſe I was free from remorſe, and becauſe I enjoyed the pleaſing recollections that good actions leave behind them. Theſe are the only means that can enable us to ſupport the evils of life, and the viciſſitudes of fortune.

Perhaps you are not fated, and I hope you are not, to undergo trials ſo ſevere as mine; but there are others againſt which you ought to be equally on your guard. Serious and induſtrious habits are the beſt preſervative againſt every danger; and neceſſity as well as prudence command you to perſevere diligently in your ſtudies.

Be worthy of your parents: they leave you great examples to follow; and if you are careful to avail yourſelf

ſelf of them, your exiſtence will not be uſeleſs to mankind.

Farewell, my beloved child, you who drew life from my boſom, and whom I wiſh to impreſs with all my ſentiments. The time will come when you will be better able to judge of the efforts I make at this moment to repreſs the tender emotions excited by your dear image. I preſs you to my heart.

Farewell, my Eudora.

TO MY FAITHFUL SERVANT FLEURY.

My dear Fleury, you whoſe fidelity, ſervices, and attachment, have been ſo grateful to me for thirteen years, receive my embraces, and my farewell.

Preſerve the remembrance of what I was. It will conſole you for what I ſuffer: the good paſs on to glory when they deſcend to the grave. My ſorrows are about to terminate; lay aſide yours, and think of the peace which I am about to enjoy, and which nobody will in future be able to diſturb. Tell my Agatha that I carry with me to the grave the ſatisfaction of being beloved by her from my infancy, and the regret of not being able to give her proofs of my attachment. I could have wiſhed to be of ſervice to you—at leaſt let me not afflict you.

Farewell, my poor Fleury, farewell!

Friday,

Friday, 24 October.

You cannot imagine, dear Jany, all the vexation I have ſuffered at not being able to write to you at my eaſe, nor even to read your letter at leiſure: I perceived that I had an officer cloſe at my heels, and was afraid on your account. I am like a perſon infected with the plague. I have no longer any thing to loſe, but I am frightened out of my wits for thoſe who accoſt me; inſomuch that yeſterday at the court of juſtice, I was in doubt whether I ſhould return the ſalute of a man whom I recollected, and whom I thought highly imprudent for ſhewing me politeneſs in public.—I was preſent at the reading of thoſe articles of impeachment, a prodigy of deluſion, or rather a maſterpiece of perfidy. As ſoon as they had been read, the advocate, Chauveau, obſerved in terms of great moderation, that, contrary to all form of law, the documents on which they were founded had not been communicated to the priſoners' counſel. He therefore begged the tribunal to take the matter into conſideration, and give orders for their delivery. After a moment's whiſpering, the preſident made anſwer, in a faltering voice, that the papers in queſtion were for the moſt part ſealed up at the houſes of the accuſed; that orders would be given to proceed to the removal of the ſeals, and that in the mean time the trial would begin. Yes, Jany, I heard this very diſtinctly with my own ears! I looked about to ſee if it were not a dream, and I aſked of myſelf whether poſterity would believe theſe things if they ſhould come to its knowledge?—Well, the people felt nothing of all this; they did not perceive

perceive the atrocity of ſuch conduct; the abſurdity of bringing forward a charge and of withholding the vouchers of its truth; the ſtupidity of pretending that thoſe vouchers are at the houſes of the accuſed, of whoſe papers as yet no inventory has been taken; and the folly and impudence of confeſſing it. The preſident muttered a few words beſides concerning the immenſe number of the other papers, and the difficulty of communicating them; but that was neither more juſt, nor leſs abſurd. The witneſſes were then ſent out of court, that they might be called in their turns to make their depoſition: my time is not yet come, but probably may to-morrow. I can peceive nothing, in theſe proceedings, but the intention of taking advantage of the truths I may have the courage to tell, to effect my ruin, which, conſidering the villains I have to deal with, and my contempt of death, is by no means difficult. Perhaps then we are doomed to meet no more. My friendſhip bequeaths to you the care of my memory. If I could think of any thing more conformable to the generoſity of your ſentiments, which I have known too late, I would charge you with it: but why, my dear Jany, known too late? It was Providence that conducted every thing: had I earlier known your worth, my affection for you would have involved you in my misfortunes. You will diſpoſe of every thing for the beſt. A fall out of the window may be ſuppoſed, and thoſe who will not believe it may be ſent to ſee. As there are many workmen, maſons and others, nothing is more eaſy than to imagine, that one of them, or ſomebody diſguiſed like one of them, ſtole, at a certain hour under my window, and received the parcel.—This idea is indeed a very good

one, and carries with it an air of probability. The *portraits*, *anecdotes*, and other detached pieces, ſhould be preſented to the public as materials to be worked up in better times. The little *depot* ought not to be neglected: it ſhould be added to the maſs.——

The being ſummoned as a witneſs previouſly to the being judicially accuſed, forces me to adopt a different mode of proceeding from that on which I had determined when I gave you my will, and for which I had already made my preparations: I will then drain the bitter cup to the laſt drop. Farewell, Jany, farewell!

Your letter, my dear Boſc, was highly welcome: it diſcovers to me your whole heart, and the full extent of your attachment: they are both as uncommon, in my eſtimation, as they are dear to me. We do not however differ ſo much as you imagine; we did not underſtand each other perfectly. It was not my intention to depart at that moment, but to procure the means of doing ſo when I ſhould deem it fitting. I was deſirous of rendering homage to the truth, as I have it in my power to do, and then to make my *exit* juſt before the laſt ceremony. I thought it noble to deceive the tyrants. I had long ruminated on the project; and I ſwear to you, that it was not inſpired by weakneſs. I am perfectly well; my head is as cool, and my ſpirit as unbroken, as ever. True it is, however, that the preſent trial embitters my ſorrows, and inflames my indignation.

nation. I thought that the fugitives alſo had been taken up. It is poſſible that deep grief, and the exaltation of ſentiments already terrible, might have matured in the ſecret receſſes of my heart a reſolution, to which my mind did not fail to aſcribe the moſt excellent motives.

Called upon to give evidence in this affair, I thought it neceſſarily called for a different mode of proceeding. I was determined to avail myſelf of the opportunity to reach the goal with greater celerity: I intended to thunder, and then to withdraw from their power. I thought the very circumſtance would authorize me to ſpeak without reſerve, and that I ought to have it in my pocket when going into court. I did not however wait for it to ſupport my character. During the hours of expectation I paſſed in the clerk's office, in the midſt of ten perſons, *officers, judges* of the other ſections, &c. and in the hearing of *Hebert* and *Chabot*, who came into the next room, I ſpoke with equal energy and freedom. My turn to be heard did not come; they were to fetch me the ſecond day: the third however is almoſt over, and nobody has yet appeared. I fear theſe knaves perceive that I may poſſibly furniſh an intereſting epiſode, and think that, after having ſummoned me, it is better to reject my evidence.

I wait with impatience, and am now afraid I ſhall not have an opportunity of acknowledging my friends in their preſence. You are of opinion, my dear Boſc, that in either caſe I ought to wait for, and not accelerate the cataſtrophe: it is on this alone we are not perfectly agreed. It ſeems to me, there would be weakneſs in receiving the *coup-de-grace* from the hands of others,

inſtead of taking it from my own; and in expoſing myſelf to the inſolent clamours of a brutal populace, as unworthy of ſuch an example as it is incapable of turning it to account. No doubt it would have been right to do ſo three months ago; but now it will be loſt on the preſent generation; and as to poſterity, the other reſolution, well managed, will have quite as good an effect.

You ſee that you did not underſtand me.—Examine then the matter in the ſame point of view in which it ſtrikes me: it is not at all the ſame as that in which you ſee it. When you ſhall thus have maturely conſidered it, I will abide by your determination.

I haſten to conclude, that you may have my anſwer by the ſame conveyance: it is enough for me to have indicated what you will be able to inveſtigate in the leiſure of meditation —My poor little girl! Where then is ſhe? Let me know, I beg of you: ſend me a few particulars, that my mind's eye at leaſt may ſee her in her new ſituation. Affected by your cares, you think that I feel likewiſe the cruelty of all theſe circumſtances. I underſtand that my brother-in-law is in confinement: no doubt the ſequeſtration of his property is ſtill in force, and perhaps he is in danger of baniſhment.

Conſider that your friendſhip, which finds the taſk I impoſe upon it a painful one, may eaſily deceive you, as to what you can or ought to do in that reſpect. Try to think of the matter, as if it were neither you nor I, but two indifferent perſons, in our relative ſituations, ſubmitted to your impartial judgment. Attend to my fortitude; weigh my reaſons; calculate coolly; and recollect how little a mob is worth that is capable of feaſting upon ſuch a ſight.

I embrace

I embrace you tenderly. Jany will tell you what it is poſſible to attempt ſome morning, but take care not to run any hazard.

NOTES

On my Trial, and the Examination by which it began.

At the firſt moment of my confinement, I thought of writing to Duperret, to beg him to get ſome attention paid to my complaints. Without being intimate, I had obſerved in him that courageous diſpoſition which prompts a man to ſtand forth without fear of conſequences whenever he has it in his power to oblige; and he had inſpired me with that confidence which ariſes in a revolution from a conformity of principles. I was not deceived: Duperret anſwered me with kindneſs and warmth; and added, to the expreſſions of his own ſentiments, ſome intelligence concerning the ſtate of public affairs, and the fugitive deputies. I thanked him; and, in replying to the paſſage that related to our friends, expreſſed my wiſhes for their ſafety, and for that of my country. A few days after, having printed the examination which I had undergone before an adminiſtrator of the police at the Abbey, I ſent a copy to Duperret; and took that opportunity of teſtifying my contempt for the ſilly lies which Hebert had juſt told in ſpeaking of me in his *Pere Ducheſne*. The whole of our correſpondence might amount to three or four ſhort letters, including a note, in which I acquainted Duperret, as I acquainted

at

t the time ſeveral other perſons, whom I ſuppoſed to ake an intereſt in my welfare, with the ſudden transfor- nation of my enlargement from the Abbey, into a new confinement at Sainte-Pelagie. It is on this correſpond- ence they mean to found an accuſation againſt me, s having been connected, indirectly at leaſt, with the rebels of Calvados. The very day of Briſſot's execution I was removed to the *Conciergerie*, put into a noiſome room, and forced to ſleep in a bed without ſheets, which a fellow-priſoner was good enough to lend me. The day after I was examined in the office of the tri- bunal, by judge David, accompanied by the public ac- cuſer, and in the preſence of a man whom I ſuſpect to be a juror. At firſt they aſked me many tedi- ous queſtions concerning Roland before the 14th of July, 1789; who was mayor of Lyons when he was mu- nicipal officer, &c.—I anſwered thoſe queſtions by an exact relation of facts; but from that very moment I could perceive, while aſking many particulars, they did not wiſh me to be circumſtantial in my an- ſwers. Without any tranſition, I was aſked, if dur- ing the Convention I had not been in the habit of ſeeing ſuch and ſuch members (and the proſcribed and condemned were named); and if in their conferences I had not heard them mention a departmental force, and the means of obtaining it. I had to remark, that I had ſeen ſome of thoſe members as friends, with whom Roland had been intimate from the time of the conſti- tuent aſſembly; others by accident, either as acquaint- ance, or becauſe brought to our houſe by their col- leagues; and that ſeveral of them I had never ſeen at all: that beſides there had never been any ſecret coun-

cils or conferences at Roland's; but the converſation was public, and turned on matters which engaged the attention of the Aſſembly, and intereſted every body. The debate was long and violent before I could get my anſwers taken down. They deſired me to confine myſelf to *yes* and *no*; accuſed me of being talkative; and told me I was not ſhewing my wit at the hotel of the Interior. The public accuſer and the judge, eſpecially the firſt, behaved with the poſitiveneſs and acrimony of perſons perſuaded that they had a great criminal before them, and impatient for her conviction. When the judge had aſked a queſtion, and the public accuſer did not find it to his liking, he couched it in other terms, extended and rendered it complex and captious, interrupted my anſwers, and required them to be more conciſe: it was downright perſecution. I was kept about three hours, or rather more, after which the examination was ſuſpended, to be reſumed, as I was told, in the evening. I am waiting for it. A determination to deſtroy me ſeems evident.—I will not prolong my life by any baſe ſubterfuge; neither will I lay bare my boſom to malevolence; nor facilitate, by a ſilly complaiſance, the labours of the public accuſer, who ſeems deſirous of my furniſhing him by my anſwers with matter for the indictment which his zeal meditates againſt me.

Two days after, I was ſent for to be re-examined. The firſt queſtion turned upon the pretended contradiction that exiſted between my letters to Duperret, and my having ſaid I was not particularly intimate with him; whence it reſulted, that I diſguiſed the truth in regard to my political connexions with the rebels. I

anſwered

nſwered that I had never ſeen Duperret ten times in my ife, and not even once in private, as it was eaſy to per-- eive by the firſt letter I addreſſed to him, when ſend- ng him a copy of that I had written to the Conven- ion; that the ſubſequent letters were the conſequence of the kind and explicit anſwer I had then received, &c. That at the period our little correſpondence began there was no queſtion of revolt and rebellion; and at that time I had no room for a choice in the aſſembly, where there was ſcarcely any perſon to whom I was known, or who would have undertaken the care of my intereſts.

Queſtion. Who were the common friends of your- ſelf and Duperret?

Anſwer. Barbaroux in particular.

Queſtion. Was it known to you that Roland, before he entered into the adminiſtration, belonged to the Committee of Correſpondence of the Jacobins?

Anſwer. Yes.

Queſtion. Was it not you who took upon you to compoſe the letters it was his duty to draw up for the Committee?

Anſwer. My huſband never borrowed my thoughts, although he may ſometimes have employed my pen.

Queſtion. Were you not acquainted with the office for the *formation of public ſpirit*, eſtabliſhed by Roland to corrupt the departments; to bring to Paris a de- partmental force; to tear the republic to pieces, ac- cording to the plans of a liberticide faction, &c.; and was it not you who conducted the buſineſs of that office?

Anſwer. Roland eſtabliſhed no office under that de- nomination; and I conducted the buſineſs of none. Af- ter the decree, paſſed at the latter end of Auguſt, or-

dering him to diſperſe uſeful writings, he aſſigned to ſome of his clerks the care of forwarding them, exerting himſelf to the utmoſt in the execution of a law which tended to diffuſe the knowledge and the love of the revolution. This he called the *patriotic correſpondence*; and as to his own writings, inſtead of promoting diſcord, they all breathed a deſire to concur in the maintenance of order, and of peace.

Here it was obſerved, it was in vain for me to attempt to diſguiſe the truth, as it evidently appeared, by all my anſwers, I was deſirous of doing; that upon the door of the very office was a ridiculous inſcription, and that I was not ſo great a ſtranger to my huſband's tranſactions as not to know it; that my endeavours to juſtify Roland would be equally ineffectual; and fatal experience had but too well ſhown the miſchief that perfidious miniſter had done, by aſperſing the moſt faithful repreſentatives of the people, and by exciting the departments to take up arms againſt Paris.

To this I anſwered, that far from deſiring to diſguiſe the truth, I was proud of doing homage to it, even at the riſk of my life; that I had never read the inſcription in queſtion; on the contrary, I had remarked at the time the report of it was in circulation, that it was not to be found in the printed liſts of offices belonging to the interior department; and that, in anſwer to the injurious imputations upon Roland, I had only two facts to oppoſe: the *firſt* his *writings*, which all contained the beſt principles of morality and *politics*; the *ſecond*, his forwarding all thoſe printed by order of the National Convention, even the ſpeeches of the members

bers of that aſſembly, who paſſed for the moſt violent in oppoſition.

Queſtion. Do you know at what time Roland left Paris, and where he may be?

Anſwer. Whether I do or not, is what I neither ought or chooſe to tell.

It was obſerved, this obſtinacy in conſtantly diſguiſing the truth proved I thought Roland guilty; that I ſet myſelf in open rebellion againſt the law; that I forgot the duty of a perſon accuſed, whom it behoves above all to reveal the truth to juſtice, &c. The public accuſer, who put the queſtion, took care to accompany it, as he did every other he thought proper to aſk, with inſulting epithets, and expreſſions indicating anger. I attempted to anſwer; but he forbad details; and both he and the judge, endeavouring to avail themſelves of the kind of authority given by their office, employed all means to reduce me to ſilence, or to make me ſay what they thought fit. Indignant at the treatment, I told them I would complain in open court of their unheard of and captious mode of examination; that I would not ſuffer myſelf to be brow-beaten; and that I conſidered the laws of reaſon and nature as ſuperior to all human inſtitutions: then turning round to the clerk, 'Take up your pen,' ſaid I, 'and write.'

Anſwer. 'A perſon accuſed is anſwerable for his own actions, but not for thoſe of others. If, during more than four months, Roland had not ſolicited in vain the paſſing of his accounts, he would not now be obliged to abſent himſelf, nor ſhould I, ſuppoſing me to be acquainted with it, be obliged to make a ſecret of

his place of reſidence.—I know of no law which requires me to betray the deareſt ſentiments of nature.'

Here the public accuſer exclaimed in a rage, that there was no end to my loquacity; and here cloſed the examination.

'How I pity you,' ſaid I calmly. 'I forgive you even the diſagreeable things you ſay: you think you have a great criminal before you, and are impatient to convict her. How unfortunate is the man who entertains ſuch prejudices! You may ſend me to the ſcaffold; but you cannot deprive me of the ſatisfaction I derive from a good conſcience, nor of the perſuaſion that poſterity will revenge Roland and me, by devoting his perſecutors to infamy.' Being deſired to chooſe my advocate, I named Chauveau, and retired, ſaying to them with a ſmile, 'I wiſh you, in return for all the ill you mean to do to me, the ſame peace of mind I enjoy, whatever may be the reward attached to it.'

The examination took place in a room called the council-chamber, at a table with ſeveral perſons ſitting round it, who appeared to be there for the purpoſe of writing, and who did nothing but liſten to what I ſaid. There were many goers and comers; nor could any thing be leſs ſecret than the tranſaction.

DRAUGHT

DRAUGHT OF A DEFENCE INTENDED TO BE READ TO THE TRIBUNAL *.

The charge brought againſt me reſts entirely upon the pretended fact of my being the accomplice of men called conſpirators. My intimacy with a few of them is of much older date than the political circumſtances, in conſequence of which they are now conſidered as rebels; and the correſpondence we kept up through the medium of our common friends, at the time of their departure from Paris, was entirely foreign to public affairs. Properly ſpeaking, I have been engaged in no political correſpondence whatever, and in that reſpect I might confine myſelf to a ſimple denial; for I certainly cannot be called upon to give an account of my particular affections. But I have a right to be proud of them, as well as of my conduct, nor do I wiſh to conceal any thing from the public eye. I ſhall therefore acknowledge, that, with expreſſions of regret at my confinement, I received an intimation that Duperret had two letters for me, whether written by one or by two of my friends, before or after their leaving Paris, I cannot ſay. Duperret had delivered them into other hands, and they never came to mine. Another time I received a preſſing invitation to break my chains, and an offer of ſervices, to aſſiſt me in effecting my eſcape in any way I might think proper, and to convey me whitherſoever I might afterwards wiſh to go. I was diſſuaded from liſtening to ſuch propoſals

* Written at the *Conciergerie* the night after her examination.

by duty and by honour; by duty, that I might not endanger the ſafety of thoſe to whoſe care I was confided; and by honour, becauſe at all events I preferred running the riſk of an unjuſt trial, to expoſing myſelf to the ſuſpicion of guilt by a flight, unworthy of me. When I conſented to be taken up on the 31ſt of May, it was not with the intention of afterwards making my eſcape. In that alone conſiſts all my correſpondence with my fugitive friends. No doubt, if all means of communication had not been cut off, or if I had not been prevented by confinement, I ſhould have endeavoured to learn what was become of them; for I know of no law by which my doing ſo is forbidden. In what age, or in what nation, was it ever conſidered a crime to be faithful to thoſe ſentiments of eſteem and brotherly affection which bind man to man? I do not pretend to judge of the meaſures of thoſe who have been proſcribed: they are unknown to me; but I will never believe in the evil intentions of men, of whoſe probity, civiſm, and devotion to their country, I am thoroughly convinced. If they erred it was unwittingly; they fall without being abaſed; and I regard them as unfortunate without being liable to blame. I am perfectly eaſy as to their glory, and willingly conſent to participate in the honour of being oppreſſed by their enemies. I know thoſe men, accuſed of conſpiring againſt their country, to have been determined republicans, but humane, and perſuaded that good laws were neceſſary to procure the republic the good-will of perſons who doubted whether it could be maintained; which it muſt be confeſſed is more difficult than to kill them. The hiſtory of every age proves, that it requires great talents to lead men to virtue by wiſe

inſtitutions,

inſtitutions, while force ſuffices to oppreſs them by terror or to annihilate them by death. I have heard them aſſert, that abundance, as well as happineſs, can only proceed from an equitable, protecting, and beneficent government; and that the omnipotence of the bayonet may produce fear, but not bread. I have ſeen them animated by the moſt lively enthuſiaſm for the good of the people, diſdaining to flatter them, and reſolved rather to fall victims to their deluſion than be the means of keeping it up. I confeſs theſe principles, and this conduct, appeared to me totally different from the ſentiments and proceedings of tyrants or ambitious men, who ſeek to pleaſe the people to effect their ſubjugation. It inſpired me with the higheſt eſteem for thoſe generous men: this error, if an error it be, will accompany me to the grave, whither I ſhall be proud of following thoſe whom I was not permitted to accompany.

My defence I will venture to ſay, is more neceſſary to thoſe, who really wiſh to come at the truth, than it is to myſelf. Calm and contented in the conſciouſneſs of having done my duty, I look forward to futurity with perfect peace of mind. My ſerious turn, and ſtudious habits, have preſerved me alike from the follies of diſſipation, and from the buſtle of intrigue. A friend to liberty, on which reflexion had taught me to ſet a juſt value, I beheld the revolution with delight, perſuaded it was deſtined to put an end to the arbitrary power I deteſted, and to the abuſes I had ſo often lamented, when reflecting with pity upon the fate of the indigent claſſes of ſociety. I took an intereſt in the progreſs of the revolution, and ſpoke with warmth of pub-

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lic affairs; but I did not paſs the bounds preſcribed by my ſex. Some ſmall talents perhaps, a conſiderable ſhare of philoſophy, a degree of courage more uncommon, and which did not permit me to weaken my huſband's energy in dangerous times: ſuch perhaps are the qualities which thoſe who know me may have indiſcreetly extolled, and which may have made me enemies among thoſe to whom I am unknown. Roland ſometimes employed me as a ſecretary; and the famous letter to the king, for inſtance, is copied entirely in my hand-writing: this would be an excellent count to add to my indictment, if the Auſtrians were trying me, and if they ſhould have thought fit to extend a miniſter's reſponſibility to his wife. But Roland long ago manifeſted his knowledge, and his attachment to the great principles of politics: the proofs of them exiſt in his numerous works, publiſhed during the laſt fifteen years.—His learning and his probity are all his own, nor did he ſtand in need of a wife to make him an able miniſter. Never were conferences or ſecret councils held at his houſe; his colleagues, whoever they might be, and a few friends and acquaintance, met once a week at his table, and there converſed in a public manner on matters in which every body was concerned. As to the reſt, the writings of that miniſter, which breathe throughout a love of order and of peace, and which lay down in the moſt forcible manner the beſt principles of morality and politics, will for ever atteſt his wiſdom, as his accounts will prove his integrity.

To return to the offence imputed to me, I have to obſerve that I never was intimate with Duperret. I ſaw him now and then at the time of Roland's adminiſtration;

ſtration; but he never came to our houſe during the ſix months that my huſband was no longer in office. The ſame remark will apply to the other members, our friends, which ſurely does not accord with the plots and conſpiracies laid to our charge. It is evident by my firſt letter to Duperret, I only wrote to him becauſe I knew not to whom elſe to addreſs myſelf, and becauſe I imagined he would readily conſent to oblige me. My correſpondence with him could not then be concerted; it could not be the conſequence of any previous intimacy, and could have only one object in view. It gave me afterwards an opportunity of receiving accounts from thoſe who had juſt abſented themſelves, and with whom I was connected by the ties of friendſhip, independently of all political conſiderations. The latter were totally out of the queſtion in the kind of correſpondence I kept up with them during the early part of their abſence. No written memorial bears witneſs againſt me in that reſpect, thoſe adduced only leading to a belief that I partook of the opinions and ſentiments of the perſons called conſpirators. This deduction is well founded: I confeſs it without reſerve, and am proud of the conformity. But I never manifeſted my opinions in a way which can be conſtrued into a crime, or which tended to occaſion any diſturbance. Now, to become an accomplice in any plan whatever, it is neceſſary to give advice, or to furniſh means of execution. I have done neither; I am not then reprehenſible in the eye of the law—there is no law to condemn me, nor any fact which admits of the application of a law.

I know that in revolutions, law, as well as juſtice, is

often forgotten; and the proof of it is, that I am here. I owe my trial to nothing but the prejudices, and violent animosities which arise in times of great agitation, and which are generally directed against those who have been placed in conspicuous situations, or are known to possess any energy or spirit. It would have been easy for my courage to put me out of the reach of the sentence I foresaw; but I thought it rather became me to undergo it: I thought that I owed the example to my country; I thought that if I were to be condemned, it must be right to leave tyranny all the odium of sacrificing a woman whose crime is that of possessing some small talents which she never misapplied, a zealous desire of the welfare of mankind, and courage enough to acknowledge her unfortunate friends, and to do homage to virtue at the risk of her life. Minds which have any claim to greatness are capable of divesting themselves of selfish considerations; they feel they belong to the whole human race; and their views are directed to posterity alone. I am the wife of a virtuous man exposed to persecution; and I was the friend of men who have been proscribed and immolated by delusion, and the hatred of jealous mediocrity. It is necessary that I should perish in my turn, because it is a rule with tyranny to sacrifice those whom it has grievously oppressed, and to annihilate the very witnesses of its misdeeds. I have this double claim to death from your hands, and I expect it. When innocence walks to the scaffold, at the command of error and perversity, every step she takes is an advance towards glory. May I be the last victim sacrificed to the furious spirit of party! I shall quit with joy this unfortunate earth, which swal-

lows up the friends of virtue, and drinks the blood of the juſt.

Truth! friendſhip! my country! ſacred objects, ſentiments dear to my heart, accept my laſt ſacrifice. My life was devoted to you, and you will render my death eaſy and glorious.

Juſt heaven! enlighten this unfortunate people for whom I deſired liberty. . . . . Liberty!—It is for noble minds, who deſpiſe death, and who know how upon occaſion to give it to themſelves. It is not for weak beings who enter into a compoſition with guilt, and cover ſelfiſhneſs and cowardice with the name of prudence. It is not for corrupt wretches who riſe from the bed of debauchery, or from the mire of indigence, to feaſt their eyes on the blood that ſtreams from the ſcaffold. It is the portion of a people who delight in humanity, practiſe juſtice, deſpiſe their flatterers, and reſpect the truth. While you are not ſuch a people, O my fellow-citizens! you will talk in vain of liberty: inſtead of liberty you will have licentiouſneſs, of which you will all fall victims in your turns: you will aſk for bread; dead bodies will be given you; and you will at laſt bow down your necks to the yoke.

I have neither concealed my ſentiments nor my opinions. I know that a Roman lady was ſent to the ſcaffold for lamenting the death of her ſon. I know that in times of deluſion and party rage, he who dares avow himſelf the friend of the condemned or of the proſcribed expoſes himſelf to their fate. But I deſpiſe death; I never feared any thing but guilt, and I will not purchaſe life at the expence of a baſe ſubterfuge. Woe

to

to the times! woe to the people among whom doing homage to diſregarded truth can be attended with danger, and happy he who in ſuch circumſtances is bold enough to brave it!

It is now your part to ſee whether it anſwer your purpoſe to condemn me without proof, upon mere matter of opinion, and without the ſupport or juſtification of any law.

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18 *Brumaire.*

By authority of the criminal revolutionary tribunal eſtabliſhed by the law of the 10th of March 1793, without appeal to the tribunal of annulment, and alſo in virtue of the power delegated by the law of 25 April of the ſame year, to the ſaid tribunal ſitting in the hall of juſtice at Paris:

The indictment drawn up by the public accuſer againſt Mary-Jane Phlipon, wife of John-Mary Roland, aged thirty-nine years, born at Paris, and dwelling there, in the *rue de la harpe*, of which the tenor is as hereafter followeth:

Antony-Quintin Fouquier-Tinville, public accuſer of the extraordinary criminal and revolutionary tribunal, (eſtabliſhed at Paris, by a decree of the national convention, of the 10th of March, the ſecond year of the republic, without appeal to the tribunal of annulment) by virtue of the power to him given by the ſecond article of another decree of the convention of the 5th of April following, importing that the public accuſer of the ſaid tribunal is authoriſed to arreſt, proſecute, and bring to judgment,

judgment, on the denunciation of the conſtituted authorities and of citizens,

SHEWETH that the ſword of the law has recently ſtruck ſeveral principal chiefs of the conſpiracy which exiſted againſt the liberty and ſafety of the French people; but a great number of authors and accomplices of that conſpiracy ſtill exiſt, and hitherto have found means, by a cowardly flight, to avoid the juſt puniſhment of their crimes: of the number is Roland, ex-miniſter of the home department, the principal agent of the conſpirators. The flight of ſome of them did not put a ſtop to the correſpondence between thoſe who remained at Paris, as well at liberty as in a ſtate of arreſt: they correſponded alſo with thoſe who had taken refuge at Caen, and other cities of the republic. Roland on leaving Paris left behind him his wife, who, although put in confinement in a houſe of arreſt, continued to correſpond with the conſpirators who had retired to Caen, through the medium of another who remained at Paris. That intriguing woman, who is well known to have received, and aſſembled at her houſe the principal chiefs of the conſpirators in ſecret councils, of which ſhe was the ſoul, received, although in priſon, letters from Barbaroux and others of the refugees at Caen; and always anſwered them in terms favourable to the conſpiracy. Of this correſpondence the proof exiſts, Firſt, in a letter dated from Evreux, the 13th of June laſt, written by Barbaroux to Lauze Duperret, in which he ſays: "Do not forget the eſtimable wife of Roland, and "try to give her ſome conſolation in her priſon, by "conveying to her the good news, &c." 2dly, in a letter, dated the 15th of the ſaid month of June, from

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the ſaid Barbaroux to the ſaid Lauze Duperret, in which are the following paſſages. " You have no doubt executed " my commiſſion in regard to Madame Roland, by trying " to convey to her ſome little conſolation.—Make an ef- " fort to ſee her, and tell her, that the *twenty-two* proſcrib- " ed, and all honeſt men, ſhare her afflictions, &c. Here- " with you will receive a letter which we have written to " that eſtimable woman. I need not ſay that you alone " can execute this important commiſſion; ſhe muſt at all " events try to get out of her priſon, and into ſome " place of ſafety, &c." 3dly, In a letter written by Lauze Duperret to the ſaid wife of Roland, in which he ſays: " I have kept for ſeveral days three letters which " Barbaroux and Buzot incloſed to me, without having " it in my power to convey them to you; and what " is ſtill more unfortunate, is, that at the moment I " might avail myſelf of the means you afford me, " the thing is become impoſſible, as they are in " the hands of Petion, to whom I thought it adviſe- " able to deliver them, ſuppoſing he had it more in " his power to forward them than any body elſe, and who " ſet off without being able ſo to do. I ſhall this very " day give notice of it to thoſe citizens to whom I am " going to write by a ſafe conveyance, and ſhall in- " form them I have it now in my power to execute " their commands with more punctuality, &c." 4thly, In a note dated the 24th of June, written by the above wife of Roland to Duperret, in which ſhe acquaints him ſhe has been releaſed from the abbey; that ſhe thought ſhe was going to return home; but that before ſhe reached it ſhe was taken up and conducted to Sainte-Pelagie. 5thly, and laſtly, in three other letters written by

by her in like manner to Lauze Duperret; the firſt dated June 6, the ſecond without date, and the third June 24. In the ſecond ſhe ſays: "The accounts "I receive from my friends are the only pleaſure I "am ſenſible of: you have aſſiſted in procuring me "that pleaſure: tell them my confidence in their "courage and knowledge of what they are capable "of doing for liberty, ſtands me in ſtead of every "thing, and conſoles me in all my misfortunes; tell "them my eſteem, my attachment, and my good "wiſhes, will follow them wherever they go. Barba-"roux's hand-bill gave me great pleaſure," &c.

After the contents of the ſaid letters there can be no doubt that the ſaid wife of Roland was one of the principal agents and abettors of the conſpiracy.

Theſe things conſidered, the public accuſer has drawn up the preſent indictment againſt Mary-Jane Phlipon, the wife of Roland, heretofore miniſter of the Interior, for having wickedly, and deſignedly, aided and aſſiſted in the conſpiracy which exiſted againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the republic, againſt the liberty and ſafety of the French people, by aſſembling at her houſe, in ſecret council, the principal chiefs of that conſpiracy, and by keeping up a correſpondence tending to facilitate their liberticide deſigns.

Wherefore the public accuſer demands, that a record be made, by the tribunal aſſembled, of the accuſation brought by him againſt Mary-Jane Phlipon, the wife of Roland; and that in conſequence he be ordered with his beſt ſpeed, and by a ſerjeant *(huiſſier)* of the tribunal, bearer of the warrant, to take the ſaid Mary-Jane Phlipon, wife of Roland, into cuſtody, and to lodge her in

the *houſe of arreſt* of the *Conciergerie* at Paris, there to remain in cloſe impriſonment; as alſo that the ſaid warrant be notified to the accuſed, and to the tribunal of Paris.

Done, in the cabinet of the public accuſer, this ſeventeenth of Brumaire, in the ſecond year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed) A. Q. Fouquier.

The warrant iſſued againſt her by the tribunal, and the minutes of the delivery of her perſon in the houſe of juſtice of the Conciergerie, as alſo the declaration of the jury of judgment, importing:

That there has exiſted a horrible conſpiracy againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the republic, the liberty and ſafety of the French people:

That Mary-Jane Phlipon, wife of John-Mary Roland, is convicted of being one of the abettors or accomplices of that conſpiracy.

The tribunal, after having heard the public accuſer deliver his reaſons concerning the application of the law, condemns Mary-Jane Phlipon, wife of John-Mary Roland, ex-miniſter, to the puniſhment of death, in conformity with the law of the ſixteenth of December, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-two, which has been read, and which is conceived in theſe terms:

"The National Covention decrees, that whoever ſhall propoſe or attempt to deſtroy the unity of the French republic, or to detach its integral parts to unite them to a foreign territory, ſhall be puniſhed with death."

Declares the property of the ſaid wife of Roland confiſcated

ſiſcated to the uſe of the nation, in conformity with the law of the 10th of March laſt, which has been read, and which is conceived in theſe terms: "The property of thoſe who ſhall be condemned to the puniſhment of death, ſhall be confiſcated to the uſe of the republic: a proviſion ſhall be made for ſuch widows and children as have no property of their own."

Orders the public accuſer to ſee that the preſent ſentence be put in execution, within twenty-four hours, on the *Place de la Revolution* in this city, and to be printed and poſted up throughout the whole extent of the republic, wherever need may be.

Done, and pronounced in open court, the eighteenth of the month Brumaire, the ſecond year of the French republic; preſent, citizens René-Francis Dumas, vice-preſident, performing the functions of preſident; Gabriel Deliegé, Francis-Joſeph Deniſot, and Peter-Noel Subleyras, judges; who have ſigned the minutes, with Wolff, clerk of the court.

Collated.

A true copy, delivered by the underſigned.

PARIS, ſecretary *(Greffier.)*

Such was the ſentence that ſent to the ſcaffold, at the age of thirty-nine, a woman, whoſe energetic diſpoſition, feeling heart, and cultivated mind, rendered her the delight and admiration of all who knew her. Her death reflects equal glory on her ſex, and diſgrace on her executioners.

It is not my province to draw her character: her writings expreſs it; her conduct is her teſtimony; and

hiſtory will revenge the injuſtice of her contemporaries.

The ſentence was preceded for form's ſake, and according to the cuſtom of that horrible tribunal, by a mock trial *(débats)*, in which madam Roland was not allowed to ſpeak, and in which hired ruffians vomited forth the moſt atrocious calumnies before other ruffians, the execrable tools of Robeſpierre, ſo unworthily honoured with the title of judges and jurors. I have not been able to procure a detail of the proceedings, which, as is well known, muſt not be taken in writing: but I know that only one perſon paid a tribute to truth, and that he was ſome time after ſent on that account to the ſcaffold. I mean the worthy Lecocq, who for eight months only had lived with Roland as a ſervant, and whoſe excellent qualities deſerved a better fate.

Madam Roland did not deceive the expectations of her friends. She was conducted to the ſcaffold with all the calmneſs of a great mind, ſuperior to the idea of death, and poſſeſſing ſufficient power to overcome the natural horror of immediate diſſolution. To exhibit a picture of her laſt moments, I cannot do better than borrow the elegant and impreſſive pen of Roiuffe. The following is the account he gives of them in his work intituled *Memoires d'un détenu, pour ſervir á l'hiſtoire de la tyrannie de Robeſpierre*; a work which will furniſh hiſtory with more than one important delineation, and which will never be read without emotion.

" The blood of the *twenty-two* was ſtill warm when madam Roland was brought to the *Conciergerie*. Well aware of the fate that awaited her, her peace of mind

continued undiſturbed. Though paſt the prime of life, ſhe was ſtill a charming woman: ſhe was tall and of elegant make; and her countenance was expreſſive; but her misfortunes and long confinement had left traces of melancholy on her face, which tempered its natural vivacity. She had the ſoul of a republican in a body made up of graces, and faſhioned by a certain courtly ſtyle of politeneſs. Something more than is generally found in the eyes of women beamed from hers, which were large, dark, and full of ſoftneſs and expreſſion. She often ſpoke to me at the grate with the freedom and energy of a great man. This republican language, from the mouth of a pretty French woman, for whom the ſcaffold was preparing, was one of the miracles of the revolution to which we were not then accuſtomed. We all ſtood liſtening round her, in admiration and aſtoniſhment. Her converſation was ſerious without being cold; and ſhe expreſſed herſelf with a choice of words, a harmony and cadence, that made her language a kind of muſic with which the ear was never ſatisfied. She always ſpoke of the members, who had juſt been put to death, with reſpect; but ſhe ſpoke of them at the ſame time without feminine pity, and even reproached them with not having adopted meaſures ſufficiently energetic. She generally ſtyled them *our friends*, and often ſent for Claviere to converſe with him. Sometimes her ſex would recover the aſcendance; and it was eaſy to ſee, that the recollection of her daughter and her huſband had drawn tears from her eyes. This mixture of natural ſoftneſs, and of fortitude, rendered her the more intereſting. The wo-

man who waited on her, ſaid to me one day, '*Before* YOU *ſhe calls up all her courage; but in her own room ſhe ſometimes ſtands for hours together, leaning againſt her window and weeping.*' The day ſhe was ſent for to be examined, we ſaw her paſs with her uſual firmneſs; but when ſhe returned the tears were gliſtening in her eyes: ſhe had been treated with ſo much harſhneſs, and queſtions ſo injurious to her honour had been aſked her, that her tears and her indignation had burſt forth together. A mercenary pedant coldly inſulted this woman, celebrated for the excellence of her underſtanding, and who, at the bar of the National Convention, had reduced her enemies to ſilence, and forced them to admire the eaſy graces of her eloquence. She remained eight days at the *Conciergerie*; and in that ſhort time rendered herſelf dear to all the priſoners, who ſincerely deplored her fate.

The day ſhe was condemned, ſhe was neatly dreſſed in white; and her long black hair flowed looſely to her waiſt. She would have moved the moſt ſavage heart, but thoſe monſters had no heart at all. Her dreſs, however, was not meant to excite pity; but was choſen as a ſymbol of the purity of her mind. After her condemnation, ſhe paſſed through the wicket with a quick ſtep, beſpeaking ſomething like joy; and indicated by an expreſſive geſture, that ſhe was condemned to die. She had, for the companion of her misfortune, a man whoſe fortitude was not equal to her own, but whom ſhe found means to inſpire with gaiety, ſo cheering and ſo real, that it ſeveral times brought a ſmile upon his face.

At the place of execution, ſhe bowed down before the ſtatue of Liberty, and pronounced theſe memorable words:

words: *O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!*

She often ſaid, that her huſband would not ſurvive her; and ſoon after we learned in our dungeons, that the virtuous Roland had killed himſelf on the public road, thereby indicating his wiſh to die irreproachable in regard to courageous hoſpitality.

My heart, though ſuffering many cruel torments in that horrible abode, felt nothing more ſeverely than the pang occaſioned by the death of that celebrated woman.—The remembrance of her murder, added to that of my unfortunate friends, will make my mind a prey to inconſolable ſorrow to the laſt period of my exiſtence.

END OF THE SECOND PART.

SUPPLEMENT*.

The Examination of Citizenneſs Roland at the Abbey, taken from Dulaure's paper called the Thermometre du Jour, of the 21ſt and 22d June, 1793.

I conſider it as an indiſpenſable duty, whatever may be the prejudices of the public, to afford to perſons accuſed the means of making known their juſtification. This induces me to publiſh the examination of madam Roland. None but cowards, and men ſtrangers to equity, can blame this conduct. DULAURE.

The 12th of June, Louvet, an adminiſtrator of the police, repaired to the Abbey to examine madam Roland.

Queſtion. Are you not acquainted with the troubles which agitated the republic during and after the adminiſtration of citizen Roland, your huſband?

Anſwer. Thoſe things were known to me, as to every one elſe, by converſations and the public papers.

Obſerved. This negative manner of anſwering a queſtion is not ſatisfactory, newſpapers not giving that intimate knowledge which I muſt certainly have had of public affairs.

* This piece probably was inſerted in the part of the Hiſtorical Memoirs which was burnt. It has been thought proper to give it here by way of ſupplement.

Anſwer.

Anſwer. I was not bound to acquire any ſuch knowledge, ſince as a woman I had no buſineſs to interfere in them.

Queſtion. Had you no knowledge of a plan for a federative republic, and for detaching the departments from Paris?

Anſwer. I never heard of ſuch a thing: I can ſay, on the contrary, that Roland, and all the perſons I was in the habit of ſeeing, conſtantly ſpoke in my preſence of the expediency of maintaining the unity of the republic, as tending to give it greater force; of the conſequent neceſſity of preſerving an equilibrium between all the departments; of their wiſh that Paris might do nothing to excite the jealouſy of the reſt; of their deſire to ſee *juſtice* and *liberty* prevail throughout France, and to concur in the maintenance of them.

Obſerved. That if thoſe perſons ſpoke of *juſtice* and *liberty* without *equality*, their principles were reprehenſible.

Anſwer. In my opinion, as well as in that of the perſons in queſtion, *equality* is the neceſſary conſequence of *juſtice* and *liberty*.

Queſtion. Who were the perſons that compoſed Roland's ſociety and yours?

Anſwer. His old friends, and thoſe with whom he had buſineſs to tranſact.

Obſerved. That it would be deſirable to know the names of the citizens and perſons of my own ſex with whom I was in the greateſt habits of intimacy.

Anſwer. Thoſe with whom I was moſt intimate are generally

nerally known, and moſt aſſuredly nobody came to my uſe in ſecret.

Obſerved. That I could certainly name thoſe who e moſt frequently viſited the miniſter, and formed his ivate parties.

Anſwer. As a man in office, Roland ſometimes re-ived a hundred perſons in a day, not one of whom ſaw. As to myſelf, I never had any extenſive circle of ſitors; but ſometimes gave a dinner to my huſband's olleagues, and to the perſons with whom they were any way connected.

Queſtion. Had you no knowledge of writings ſent to he departments to provoke them to riſe againſt Paris?

Anſwer. I never heard of ſuch a thing.

Obſerved. That Roland while miniſter had however formed offices *of public opinion* in the departments, nd it appeared that ſums of money were ſet apart for he purpoſe.

Anſwer. The firſt part of the obſervation appears to me abſolutely deſtitute of foundation. As to the ſecond, every body knows the miniſter of the Interior was allowed a ſum of money in order to diſperſe uſeful writings; and as Roland has given in his accounts, it is eaſy to ſee what writings were ſent to the departments.

Queſtion. Can you not name thoſe writings? You muſt certainly know what they were.

Anſwer. The accounts being public, and having been poſted up, any one may recur to them for a more exact liſt of thoſe writings than I am able to give. As to

to their contents, it belongs to the public, and not to me, to decide upon their merit.

Observed. That Roland could not have given in his accounts, since he so earnestly solicited permission to do so, when desirous of leaving Paris.

Answer. Not wishing to suppose the person who examines me has any bad intention, I can only attribute the present observation to an extreme ignorance of facts. Roland not only delivered a monthly account to the convention, but on going out of office, gave in a general account, in which every thing was detailed in the most particular manner. What he solicited was the passing of those accounts, that is to say, their investigation by the commissioners of the convention, and such a report of them to that assembly as they might appear to deserve. The committee of public accounts in consequence imposed this task on several of its members.

I added, I knew that they had come repeatedly to the hotel of the Interior; that they had examined the minutes and vouchers; had been edified, as they needs must, by the administration of a man whose integrity and courage would long be the theme of praise; that it was Roland's most earnest desire, as well as mine, that the commissioners should make their report, and that I begged all good citizens to join me in my endeavours to obtain it.

[I was interrupted in this answer: it was thought too long; and I was accused of being acrimonious. I observed, that I availed myself of my rights, and that there

was

s no acrimony in informing thoſe who were igno-nt of Roland's having given in his accounts, that he d done ſo long ago.]

Queſtion. Among your acquaintance was there no iend of Dumouriez?

Anſwer. There was nobody intimate with him, to the eſt of my knowledge, among thoſe I was in the habit f ſeeing.

Queſtion. Have you had no connexion with traitors?

Anſwer. All the perſons I was acquainted with, were ſo noted for their patriotiſm, that it was impoſſible even o ſuſpect them of any intercourſe with traitors.

Queſtion. Do you know where your huſband is?

Anſwer. I do not.

Queſtion. Were you not privy to a plan for diſſolving the popular ſocieties?

Anſwer. Nobody in my preſence ever diſcloſed ſuch a plan, or opinions tending that way.

Here, after a confinement of twelve days, for which no motive had been aſſigned, ended my examination, without my being told of what I was accuſed or ſuſpected, and conſequently without my knowing on what facts I was to be queſtioned.

Confident that I had nothing to loſe by telling the truth concerning my ſentiments, and all the perſons with whom I had been acquainted, I neglected to avail myſelf of my rights, and gave a plain and direct anſwer to every thing that was aſked.

The examination was upon two ſheets of paper: my ſignature was required at the end only. I demanded a copy, and was promiſed it the next day: nine are however

however paſſed, and I have not yet received it, al
though I have ſent to aſk for it four times. Bu
on leaving the adminiſtrator, I committed to paper al
that had paſſed. I am ſure I have exactly relate
every thing that was ſaid; and I ſign *Roland*, formerly
Phlipon.

End of the Supplement to the Second Part.